

A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

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FROM THE FIRST CENTURY TO
THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH

A. HENDERSON
E. PARRY

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FROM THE FIRST CENTURY TO
THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH

BY THE

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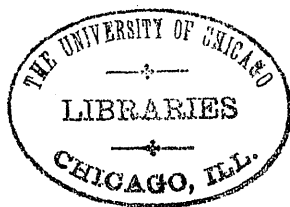
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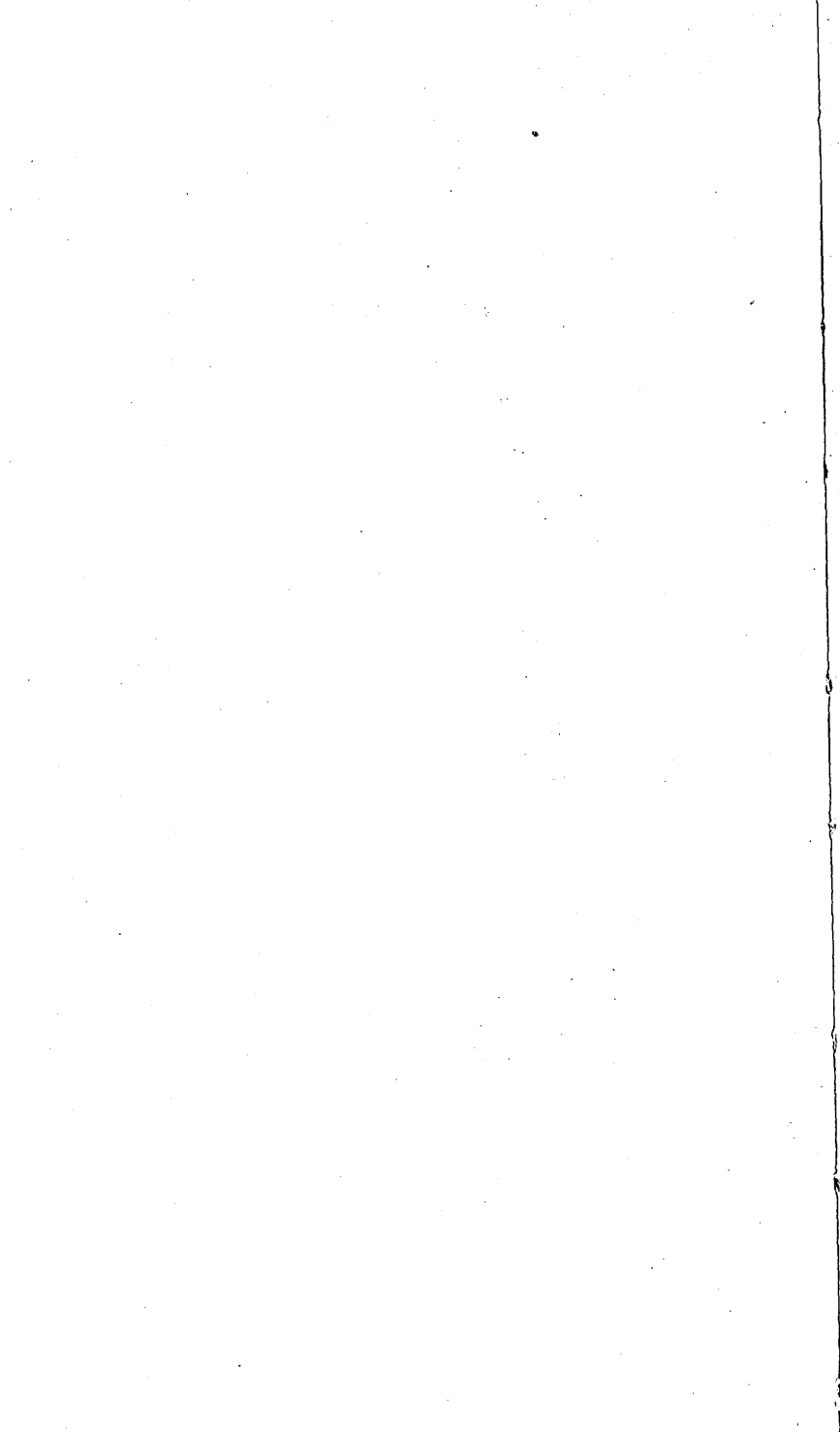
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INTRODUCTION

THE attitude of English people generally towards the missionary work of the Church has improved in a remarkable degree during the last hundred and twenty-five years. It must be left to the imagination to picture the state of things in regard to missionary enterprise in 1800, when, in the oft-quoted words of the then Dean of St. Paul's, it could be said that on Easter Day "in that vast and noble Cathedral no more than six persons were found at the Table of the Lord."

At the present time, however, while there is much to be thankful for generally, there is also a great deal to be deplored. For example, one thing that the setting up of Parochial Church Councils has emphasised, is the fact that in some parishes missionary work is still not regarded as the *normal* work of the Church; there can still be found odd parish priests who say they do not believe in Missions; there are still some people who have the most ludicrous ideas of missionaries, their work, and their motives, before we come to the people who have some knowledge of Missions, or, to use the popular phrases, are "interested in Missions," or "keen on Missions."

Ordinarily, knowledge of the missionary activities of the Church is not only sectional and scrappy, but is limited to comparatively modern times. The mind conjures with such phrases as "the teeming millions of the Far East," or "Mass Movements in India," or "the awakening of Africa," and so on. Vast countries as it were, flit before the imagination. Maps well sprinkled with the red dots of mission stations, and backed up by tables of statistics, make such an appeal to the minds of many that three ideas often emerge with more or less clearness. First of all, in spite of the great populations of Asia and Africa, wonderful successes have been achieved even within living

memory, as in the case of Uganda. Then, in quite another direction, the mind is apt to turn in criticism of the Church, charging her with slackness in facing the responsibility for millions of heathen. And, lastly, such successes as the Church met with before the nineteenth century are hardly ever counted.

The reason why a majority of Englishmen view the missionary situation with pessimism is, largely, because their outlook is insular and restricted; they are, too, sadly lacking in the historic "sense," and are prone to think only of what they actually see. They have, for the most part, lost, or are only slowly recovering, that comprehensive view of the Church as a whole which would enable them to realise that, instead of being marked by comparative failure, the mission of the Church has, from the beginning, been one of triumphant progress. It is true that there have been periods when local and "national" Churches, handicapped by internal disruptions, sometimes by wars, revolutions, and political upheavals which cannot in fairness be laid to their account—have been sadly hindered in their work of evangelisation; but when due allowance is made for circumstances with which the Church as a whole has had little or nothing to do, her record must be recognised as a series of grand and amazing successes achieved in spite of tremendous difficulties.

To free the Church of Christ, therefore, from the charge of neglect, it is only necessary to consider her in her Catholic aspects—"the Holy Church throughout all the world"—Catholic in place, Catholic in time, not in one century, nor in three or four, but in nineteen—from the day on which she stepped forth from the Upper Room in Jerusalem, newly-endowed with the powers of her great mission, until the present moment, when, in every heathen land, her missionaries are carrying the Gospel of the Crucified. For the Church is Catholic in character, and, therefore, we must think, not of the Church of Italy, of France, of Spain, of America, of Russia, nor of England, but of the Church

as she is acknowledged in the Creeds—"ONE, HOLY, CATHOLIC, APOSTOLIC."

The individual contribution to the whole Church may vary in outward manifestation. We may be privileged to see an Anglican bishop in shorts and sun-helmet footing it through the jungle; we may admire the selfless devotion of the Roman Sister with her long record of tropical service; the charm and fascination of Sadhu Sundar Singh in his extraordinary itinerating work in India will make its appeal to the devout imagination; or we may reflect on the hardships of nameless Russian priests who have christianised practically the whole of Siberia; but behind all the outward differences there is a wonderful unity of spirit and of purpose in realising the mission of Christ's Holy Church throughout all the world.

Only as the four "notes" of her essential character have been, at times, obscured, has the Church's great work suffered; but to say that they have been so obscured is to say no more than that the human elements within her have occasionally failed her in times of stress. Yet the Church herself has never failed—*can* never fail; and the wider our view, the greater our understanding of the problems of the ages, the more accurate our knowledge of her past history, the more we shall realise that, in spite of the failures and weaknesses of human agents, she has remained steadfast in her course and loyal to the commission of her Founder: "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptising them into the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

To commence with the Great Commission, setting as a limit of time the year 1700, and trying to deal with the missionary work of the Church, as a whole, during that period, and in detail, would be an almost impos-

sible task; thus the title of this little book, *A Historical Survey of Christian Missions*, is adopted as recognising the immense difficulty. But the attempt is justifiable as a means of providing a popular conspectus and, let us hope, of giving a starting point for more detailed study. Bishop Gore once gave some wise advice to ordinands concerning the Mission Field: "Try and know a bit about it all, and all about a bit of it." If this book contributes a small part to the general knowledge of missionary work, or awakens a desire for special knowledge, the time spent on it will have been amply repaid.

As far as the writers can see, most, if not all attempts at missionary history must proceed along one or other of two lines; they can be either geographical in the grouping of names and facts; or chronological. The former method was used in *Foreign Missions*, by the Rev. R. H. Malden—one of the finest handbooks on the whole subject, but now, unfortunately, out of print. The chronological method is the one adopted here. Both methods have their limitations. To Mr. Malden's book the present writers are considerably indebted.

SOME GENERAL FACTS TO BE REMEMBERED.

THE first striking fact, and one that cannot be too strongly insisted on, is that during the first thousand years of her history, the Catholic Church had converted practically THE WHOLE OF THE KNOWN WORLD.

America had not been discovered. Asia, with the exception of the smaller portions of the West, was known only to a few travellers who brought home weird stories of adventure. Africa, except Egypt and the Mediterranean seaboard to a depth of one or two hundred miles, was a dark, unknown region.

Then, it is easy to forget that the background of the Church for the first three centuries was bitter persecution. The ordinary Christian now-a-days hardly realises that before A.D. 312 it was a crime against the State to be a disciple of Christ. The whole power of the Roman Empire was concentrated on blotting out the Christian name. This all tended to produce a type of piety which it is true to say we cannot fully understand in these days, or, at least, is very uncommon—the Christianity which consists of deep convictions such as men were ready to stand to even at the sacrifice of their lives.

Again, account must be taken of the rise of Islam in the seventh century. Although a detailed examination of this religion cannot be given here, one great fact must be borne in mind: Founded by the sword, by the sword it was maintained and propagated, until vast regions, in which Christianity had been planted, succumbed to its direful influence. With irresistible force it swept through Syria and Palestine; then, spreading itself from Egypt westward along the Mediterranean shores, it penetrated Spain, gaining immense conquests, and even invaded Gaul until its further progress in the

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West was stopped by the great victory gained by Charles Martel over the Saracens near Poitiers, A.D. 732. In the East, it is still triumphant, but it is a notable fact that only those countries in which the Catholic Faith had been undermined by heresies, such as Arianism and Nestorianism, and, consequently, had been deprived of the power to resist false teaching, now languish under its rule.

Finally, among these preliminary observations, it might seem almost superfluous to include such simple statements as, "the fifteenth century had nearly dawned before the Cape of Good Hope was rounded," and, "there was no Suez Canal"; yet a glance at the map will show their immense importance.

The map was coloured green (Islam) all along the North African coast. Here was a barrier between Christianity and the rest of the Dark Continent. Then in the Near East the broad expanse of green was an effectual bar to the natural expansion of the Faith of Christ into India. Not until A.D. 1498, when Vasco da Gama sailed round Africa and reached the Malabar coast of India, was a new era opened both for commerce and the preaching of the Gospel.

To include more general remarks at this stage of our survey would be to anticipate, but what has been said above will help to give a background to many names and places as they are, from time to time, referred to. These great facts noted, and their full implication grasped, we are able to approach the First Century.

THE FIRST CENTURY.

ANY account of the First Century must begin with the New Testament; and of the many figures brought before our notice, the one we certainly know most about is the Apostle S. Paul. Not only have many books been written about him generally, but even in a special way his "missionary methods" have been frequently discussed. There is, however, one point in connection with his life and work which has sometimes been overlooked.

"Great as was his zeal, and his many powers, none of these was his greatest feature. Many people are not aware that in the person of S. Paul three races met. He was born a Jew of the strictest sect of the Pharisees, with a Jewish 'university education.' His home was in the Gentile city of Tarsus. Familiar with the Greek language and various forms of Greek religion and philosophy, he was naturally fitted to be the Gentile Apostle. But this was not all. He had the franchise or standing of a free-born Roman. So we find three phases of his life. Now he is in a Jewish synagogue; now he is meeting Greek philosophers on their own ground; and now he is claiming the protection and justice of Imperial Rome." Thus S. Paul's work furnishes the best illustration of how Christianity, beginning in the synagogues among the Jews and "God-fearers," soon spread amongst the heathen, so that organised churches were found not only in towns, but even in country districts and outlying villages. If we look at the map of the Roman Empire in the light of what are practically acknowledged facts, we shall see how, before the close of the first century, the Church had been already founded in nearly all the chief cities. The New Testament itself contains ample evidence of the rapid progress of the Faith in Asia

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Minor and in Europe as far as Rome. From the cities of Egypt, from Rome and Italy, it spread to Carthage and along the rest of the coast of North Africa. The student of Church History to-day sighs over the blank spaces and longs to know more of the beginnings of the North African Church.

After S. Paul's acquittal in Rome, it is more than probable that he carried out his long-projected visit to Spain (cf. Romans xv. 24, 28) and spent some two years in planting Churches in all the towns along the Spanish coast from Gades (Cadiz) to Tarraco (Tarragona). In the words of Clement of Rome written a generation later (Ep. ad Corinth, c. v.), "Paul . . . having taught the whole world righteousness, reached the utmost limit of the West," there is good evidence that the Apostle's wish had been realised (see Maclear, *Class Book of N.T. History*, p. 522; Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, art. "Paul the Apostle").

Eastward, the Gospel had been carried as far as India, for, whatever the actual value of the S. Thomas tradition, there is no doubt that "from the dawn of the Christian era, India has been to the Church a land of high desire, and for close on nineteen centuries there have been Christian missions there" (Dr. Ogilvie, *The Baird Lecture, The Apostles of India*, pp. 1, 2).

Although it must be admitted that we possess little accurate knowledge of the missionary activities of the Apostles after the close of the New Testament, there is, nevertheless, a singular unanimity of tradition which cannot be lightly set aside, and until decisive evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, the practically unanimous testimony of the early writers of the Church must be treated with profound respect.

According to this testimony, S. Andrew preached the Gospel in Cappadocia, Galatia and Bithynia. Origen (apud Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 1), speaks of him as having evangelised Scythia—that is, the country north of the Euxine Sea. From thence he is said to have passed into Achaia, where he was crucified by order of the

Pro-consul Aegeas, or Aegeatis, at Patrae. He was regarded as the Apostle of Byzantium, where he consecrated Stachys as its first bishop. (For a summary of these traditions, many of which can be traced to the second century, see Hastings, *D.B.*, art. "Andrew," Vol. I., p. 93a.)

S. Philip is mentioned as having suffered martyrdom at Hierapolis after missionary journeys in Scythia and Phrygia. The evidence of Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in the first half of the second century, and of Poly-crates, bishop of Ephesus (cf. Eusebius, *H.E.*, iii. 31), would seem to be in every respect beyond question. In some of these traditions there appears to have been some confusion between Philip the Apostle and Philip the Evangelist; but see Hastings, *D.B.*, articles on both, Vol. III., pp. 836, 837.

S. Bartholomew carried the Gospel to India—by which name Arabia Felix may be understood. A century later, Pantænus of Alexandria reported that he had met with Christians in India who traced their Christianity to the personal teaching of this Apostle, and produced a copy of S. Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew which S. Bartholomew had left them. Armenian writers say that he afterwards traversed Persia, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Asia Minor. Thence he passed into Greater Armenia and there suffered martyrdom at Albanopolis, being flayed alive and beheaded by order of King Astyages.

For Indian Christians it has long been a fixed article of belief that, at the head of the long succession of those who brought to their land the religion of the Cross, stands one of our Lord's own Apostles, Thomas, surnamed Didymus. The main features of the Indian tradition are that in the course of his missionary labours, S. Thomas, having first planted Christianity in Arabia and in the Island of Socotra, sailed eastwards and landed at Cranganore on the coast of Malabar in A.D. 52. Here he established seven churches and ordained clergy for them; then, journeying still

further eastward, he arrived at Mailapur, or Mylapore, in the neighbourhood of Madras. China claimed the Apostle for a time, but he returned to Mailapur, where his success aroused the fierce enmity of the Brahmans, who stirred up a tumult in the course of which the Apostle was stoned by the people and finally transfixed by the spear of a Brahman. The constancy of this tradition is remarkable, since in A.D. 883 we find our own King Alfred sending two priests, Sighelm and Athelstan, to India to present an offering at the shrine of S. Thomas in fulfilment of a vow he had made when London was besieged by the Danes; while Marco Polo, who visited India in A.D. 1288, and again in 1292, testifies that Mailapur was accepted by the Christians of India as the shrine of S. Thomas, and as the site of his martyrdom. Dr. Ogilvie sums up his discussion of the question in these words: "That S. Thomas preached the Gospel in India is a certainty; that he laboured in the Punjab is probable; that South India was a later field of his labours and the scene of his martyrdom is a tradition unverified, and now, in all likelihood, unverifiable, though not beyond the bounds of possibility" (*The Apostles of India*). See also Hastings, *D.B.*, art. "Thomas," Vol. IV., pp. 753, 754; Canon Robinson, *History of Christian Missions*, pp. 63ff; "S. Thomas and his Tomb at Mylapore," by J. Kennedy, in the *East and West Magazine*, Vol. V., No. 18.

Other traditions, most of them of respectable authority, exist in regard to other Apostles and early disciples; e.g., Eusebius records a tradition that S. Mark preached the Gospel in Egypt and founded churches, first of all at Alexandria (*H.E.*, ii. 16); and whatever doubt may be entertained concerning many of the details, subsequent historical evidence proves that before the death of the last of the Apostles, S. John, the Gospel had been preached with, of course, varying success, in many, if not in most, of the more remote regions of the then known world.

It is easy, however, to become fascinated by some of the traditions of Apostolic preaching and to forget, for the moment, the great share which quite ordinary people undoubtedly had in the spread of the Gospel. What, for instance, lies behind the statement "ordained elders in every church"? We feel sure that if information were at hand to enable us to compile such a volume, a book on *Parish Priests of the First Century* would be a helpful record. The parochial missionary library would be still further enriched if another volume could be produced: *With the Roman Legions*, by a Christian Soldier! For we must remember that many early Christians were soldiers, and carried the Faith from one end of the Empire to the other. Still another line of thought helps us to account for the natural expansion of Christianity. For many years a good number of Jews had scattered themselves all over the Empire. Many of them were continually on the move in course of trading; and when some became Christians, they naturally carried the Gospel far and wide. Last of all, let us draw a parallel from the Mission Field of to-day. We divide people into Christians, that is, the Baptised; Catechumens, or those preparing for baptism; Hearers, or definite enquirers not yet admitted to the catechumenate; and, lastly, Heathen. In experience, however, it is often found that many heathen have a good knowledge of Christianity, but for various reasons do not become Christians, so we shall not be far wrong in adding another class and calling them "Over-hearers"; and many in the first century must have belonged to this category. Thus we have, through all the means suggested above, an ever-widening circle; though obviously a great deal must be left to the imagination to supply.

THE SECOND CENTURY.

THE lack of definite information with reference to the labours of the majority of the Apostles, and the circumstances of their deaths, is characteristic of the last quarter of the first century, and we meet the same difficulty in the opening of the second.

From the point of view of missionary activity, this century has no names of great evangelists, nor records of missionary journeys like those of S. Paul. The outstanding figures who pass across the stage throw other side-lights on the life of the Church; but if information is limited, it is, nevertheless, valuable.

Clement of Rome—his Epistle being written A.D. 95-97—and the picture we can piece together of him, forms the best transition from the first to the second century. His Epistle, addressed to the Corinthian Church, gives us some hints of CONSOLIDATION of positions already won, rather than of new missionary developments. He held no jurisdiction over the Church at Corinth, nor claimed it—that type of claim was of later date; but, with the unity of the Church at heart, he tried, rather with the weight of personal influence, to set right a disorder.

But it is probably wrong to represent the whole century as a period of uniform consolidation. At certain times and in particular places, it is more likely that the Church was “marking time” rather than lengthening her cords and strengthening her stakes. The reason for this is not far to seek; for during most of the period the Church was fighting for life against foes in her own household.

“The Church of the second century probably found itself attacked on every side by wild speculators whose views contained enough truth to endow them with considerable vitality, but involved the denial of some

essential part of the Gospel. We know that various forms of Gnosticism became rife very early, and the Theosophy of our own day shows that this kind of fantastic theorising has not lost its power of attracting certain minds." (R. H. Malden, *Foreign Missions*.)

When a person writes a letter he does not usually think of the possibility of it becoming famous in after years. We may safely assume this in S. Paul's case, say with his letter to the Galatians; it was also true of the oft-quoted letter of Pliny to the Emperor Trajan, in A.D. 112. While wanting to know how he should treat the Christians in Bithynia, he incidentally gives a good deal of information to the effect that the Church had made such headway in the northern part of Asia Minor that the trade of those who provided animals for the heathen temple sacrifice was almost gone.

Somewhere about this time, A.D. 110—116, Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, was martyred, but "we are entirely ignorant of the events which led to his trial and condemnation" (Foakes-Jackson). The picture of the saintly figure, arrested in Antioch, brought all the way round the southern and western parts of Asia Minor, over to Philippi, and then, probably *via* Corinth, to Rome, is one that has always appealed to Christian imagination. All along the tedious journey we can see him with open face and noble mien, glowing with spiritual strength, and unflinching courage as he faces his approaching martyrdom.

To the student, however, it is only natural that the main interest concerning Ignatius centres in the letters which he wrote, for they show us the three-fold ministry of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, as being the established government of the Churches of Asia Minor; also, letters are addressed to places, such as Magnesia and Tralles, which bring these cities before us for the first time.

The great work of this period was the beginning of the conversion of Roman Gaul. The fierce persecutions which broke out about the year A.D. 177 at Vienne and

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Lyons are evidence of the widespread influence of Christianity in this region. The horrors of the persecution, in which Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, Sanctus, a deacon of Vienne, and the slave girl Blandina were among the notable martyrs, are fully described in a letter addressed by the Churches of Vienne and Lyons to those of Asia and Phrygia. (See Dr. Cutts, *Turning Points of General Church History*, ch. ix.)

According to Bede, it was about this time that Christianity was definitely introduced into Britain; and although his account of the mission sent by Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, cannot be accepted as strictly historical, there is ample ground for the belief that Christianity had become known in the British Isles. Not until later, however, is there evidence of its existence as an organised Church governed by bishops.

In Egypt "the Christian Church 'emerged into daylight' in the episcopate of Demetrius, A.D. 183—231. It was then firmly established and exercised a wide influence. By the end of the second century there were a large number of Christian centres in Egypt and the Thebais. Although in early times Egypt had apparently had fewer bishops than other countries in proportion to the number of its Christian inhabitants, Athanasius is able to state in A.D. 303 that there were nearly a hundred bishops in Egypt, the Thebais, Libya, and Pentapolis" (Canon Robinson, *History of Christian Missions*, pp. 280ff).

THE THIRD CENTURY.

To open a brief account of this century, the first part of the Empire to receive our attention is North Africa. Here, all along the coast, especially amongst its populous cities, the Faith had been silently spreading.

"Before the end of the second century the Church of Carthage was firmly established, and was apparently more vigorous than the Church of Rome or of Alexandria. In North-West Africa, as in Italy, the majority of the early converts were won from those who had come in contact with Greek or Roman culture. Their numerical increase may be roughly gauged by the increase in the number of Christian bishops. Harnack reckons the number of bishops in North-West Africa in A.D. 220 as from 70 to 90; in A.D. 250 as nearly 150; in A.D. 300 as hardly less than 250; and in A.D. 400 as about 600" (Canon Robinson, *op. cit.* p. 283).

When the tide of persecution rose under Severus (A.D. 193—211) and Valerian (A.D. 253—260), it must have seemed to the faithful that the whole Church would be swept away. But when, in a lull of the storm, records were made, and the roll of heroes of the Faith at least partly written up, the writers little thought how much they were disclosing concerning the existence of great and flourishing Churches where now their sites can hardly be identified. "No Churches in the world have been so influential as the Greek Church of Alexandria, and the Latin Church of Africa—the one the mother of Eastern, the other of Western theology—and no churches have so utterly passed away. To us, preoccupied with the modern insignificance of the Egyptian town, it requires an effort of mind to realise that Alexandria was once the second largest city in the world, and the second greatest patriarchate of the Church—the Church of Clement, Origen, Athanasius,

and Cyril. It gives us a kind of mental shock when we recall that the land of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, is the modern Tunis and Algiers" (Dr. Cutts, *op. cit.* ch. x.).

But the Apology of Tertullian gives us indisputable evidence of the extraordinary progress which had been made by the Church at that time: "We are a people of yesterday, and yet we have filled every place belonging to you—cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, your palace, your senate, and your forum. We leave you your temples only. We can count your armies; our members in a single province are greater"—this at the commencement of the third century.

No reference to Alexandria is complete without a mention of the famous Catechetical School which we first hear of as under the leadership of Pantænus, about A.D. 190. Eusebius, the great Church Historian of the early centuries, not only refers to Pantænus as a scholar, writer, and leader, but further says: "He was constituted a herald of the Gospel of Christ to the nations of the East, and advanced even as far as India." S. Jerome, in the fourth century, tells us that this missionary journey was instigated by Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, at the request of overseas ambassadors. A few years later Pantænus was back in Alexandria and there perished, a victim of one of the persecutions. The Church commemorates his martyrdom on July 7th; it might well be remembered by every Church in India. The names of his great successors, Clement and Origen, are familiar to the general reader. While the successive generations of students stand out only in the misty background of the imagination, the far-reaching activities of the Catechetical School must have played an enormous part in the extension of the Faith; and although we lack detailed information, we may be certain that the pupils of such a master as Pantænus learned how to combine missionary zeal with profound scholarship.

The story of the martyrdom of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas in A.D. 203, coming before us in detail, throws a great deal of light on the Church of Carthage. When we learn that the great Tertullian himself, who became a Christian in A.D. 195, owed his conversion to the tremendous impression made upon him by the steadfastness of martyrs in death, we feel that the Gospel was often preached more effectively by the life than by the lips. Then, when the martyr was a famous bishop like the well-born, influential Cyprian of Carthage, who suffered in A.D. 257, all the circumstances which led to his apprehension and death give us a wealth of information about contemporary Church life. Cyprian's inspiring end is not as well known as it ought to be. "His words were very few, but no exhortation could have been so eloquent as the 'Thanks be to God' with which he answered the judgment: 'Our pleasure is that Thascius Cyprianus be executed by the sword'" (Murray's *Dict. of Christian Biography*, art. "Cyprian").

The Church of Rome in the middle of the third century, considered in the light of the details supplied by Eusebius, shows that the Church has passed beyond the purely missionary stage. In addition to the bishop, there were forty-six priests, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, fifty-two exorcists, readers, and door-keepers, together with fifteen-hundred widows and distressed persons who depended upon its alms for their maintenance. The entire Christian community must, therefore, have been very considerable. The position of the bishop and clergy must have resembled that of the clergy in the larger Indian cities of the present day. We become conscious that we have passed largely into an era of consolidation, and this is borne out when accounts of synods and records of councils come before our notice—councils assembled even during the times of persecution.

At Bozrah, the metropolitan see of Arabia, a synod was held in A.D. 244. Two synods were held at Alex-

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andria in A.D. 231 and 235. At Carthage and Rome, three synods sat to consider the heresy of Novatus. In A.D. 256, we see seventy-one, and again eighty-seven bishops meeting in council at Carthage; whilst a previous council at Lambesa in Numidia, consisted of ninety bishops. Then at Antioch, between A.D. 260 and 269, three synods were held to judge concerning the heresy of Paul of Samosata.

In northern Italy, Christianity had been planted in many districts, Milan and Ravenna being flourishing sees.

In central and northern France, S. Denys had made many converts between A.D. 270—280; and, about the same time, S. Quentin and others had established churches as far as Beauvais and Rouen.

Although, as might be expected, little is known of missionary efforts in further Asia, there is testimony that, even in those remote regions, the Faith was being preached; for Arnobius, writing about A.D. 300, refers to "the work done in India, among the Seres (Chinese), Persians, and Medes," which, he says, "may be counted, and comes in for the purpose of reckoning" (*Adv. Gentes. Leyden, 1651, lib. ii. p. 50*).

Anyone who will go to the trouble of studying the map of Asia in the light only of its immensity compared with Europe, may well wonder at the intrepid pioneers faring forth into the unknown; and when we think that they had not the facilities of travel which the Roman Empire afforded, nor its protection, some of those unknown men become at once a rebuke and an inspiration to the Church of our day.

THE FOURTH CENTURY.

FROM A.D. 260 to 302 there was an ebb in the tide of persecution and the Church enjoyed a larger amount of freedom than had been accorded her in any former period. The examples of the martyrs and confessors, silently preaching the Faith by their lives and sufferings, had greater missionary value than the normal preaching of the Gospel. The result was that, numerically, the losses caused by persecution were soon made good, and also that by a substantial increase on all sides, the Christians became at this time a large and influential body.

Eusebius tells us that "the numbers of Christians so grew and multiplied in these fifty years that their ancient churches were not large enough to receive them, and, therefore, they erected on their foundations more ample and spacious ones in every city." The Faith had, indeed, been making progress everywhere.

According to a statement of S. Athanasius, A.D. 303, there were nearly a hundred bishops in Egypt, the Thebais, Libya and Pentapolis. How we should like fuller information about individual bishops, their sees, their problems, when we have not sufficient details to appraise their work or to learn of their failures!

It is when we think of the rise of Monasticism in this period that we acquire more certain information. The eyes of English people are more or less blind to the good in Monasticism; while to Eastern minds the system stands for something perfectly natural; the normal Oriental being just as puzzled by some phases of modern Western life. A whole treatise could be written on Monasticism as a missionary force; but here we must be content to confine ourselves to one idea and point out that Monasticism, at first, did not go out to make converts, but rather that each centre became a

magnet to draw men from their worldly concerns in order that they might intensify their religion. This intensification of religion reacted on large bodies of Christians, and so became a new type of missionary force, though its results cannot be tabulated. The last thirty years of the third century witnessed the spread of Monasticism for which Egypt afterwards became famous.

"One reason," says Canon Robinson, "why the Church in Egypt increased more rapidly and developed on more stable foundations than it did in other countries was the fact the Bible had been translated into at least three different dialects, of which the oldest, the Upper Egyptian, dates from the second half of the third century. The earliest monks of the Nitrian desert probably possessed copies of the Bible in their own language" (*History of Christian Missions*, p. 281).

Under Diocletian, the flood of persecution again set in, A.D. 302. To the majority of people the mention of persecution conjures up a picture of the Coliseum at Rome and dramatic martyrdoms before thousands of spectators, or focuses the thoughts upon some great figure like Ignatius, Polycarp, or Cyprian. But this limited view receives a rude shock when we learn that under Diocletian persecution extended in the West as far as Spain and Britain, showing that in both of these countries the Faith had made considerable progress. In Britain, S. Alban, and in Spain, S. Eulalia, were added to the roll of martyrs.

Diocletian's short reign has been well described as a "reign of terror," and a general summary of his persecuting methods is worth quoting here. "Earlier attacks upon the Christians had been local and spasmodic. . . . It was Diocletian's determination to destroy the Church. In 303 he issued his first edict; he declared that all churches were to be destroyed; that the sacred books of the Christians were to be handed over to the Government officials and burned; and that all Christians who held office in the Empire were to be degraded.

A little later, followed further decrees ordering that bishops should be imprisoned, and allowing torture in order to force Christians to recant. It will be seen that Diocletian realised the importance of the Christian Scriptures and of the episcopal organisation of the Christian Church. Persecution was driven home with energy and persistence, and the Church suffered severely. Many Christians perished, many were driven to recant, but before long, Diocletian had to recognise that he was struggling with a power that was too strong for him, and that there was no sign of the real destruction of the Christian faith. A little later, in the year 305, he decided to lay down his power and to retire into private life" (*A History of Europe*, by Prof. A. J. Grant).

In the East, the persecution continued with great bitterness under Galerius until the year 311, when an edict of toleration was issued. The prisons and the mines released their victims and the Church entered upon a new era of free development, though bearing many marks of her former tribulations.

By the edict of Milan, A.D. 313, the Emperor Constantine guaranteed to the hitherto persecuted Christians absolute toleration, providing for the restoration of all civil and religious rights of which they had been deprived, and enacting that all property which had been confiscated should be restored to the Church. Henceforward, the Church enjoyed absolute freedom, and with Constantine's defeat of Licinius, A.D. 323, the triumph of Christianity was assured.

Constantine was very far from being a real Christian at heart. As was not uncommon at the time, he held a low and superstitious view of the Sacrament of Baptism, refusing to receive it until he was on his deathbed. To him we owe the calling together of the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325; but we must say that the Council was convoked more in the interests of the State than of the Church; that is to say, the Arian heresy was viewed not so much from the spiritual point of

view as from the consideration that any internal discord was liable to mar the unity of the Empire.

Sidelights are thrown on the British Church in this century by accounts of the Council of Arles in A.D. 314. Constantine summoned a council of Western bishops to deal with the Donatists, a Puritan party in the Church which eventually led to a schism. Three British bishops were present at this Council, Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius, probably of Lincoln; they were attended by a priest, Sacerdos, and a deacon, Arminius.

In A.D. 325 and 347, British bishops gave their formal assent to the decisions of the Councils at Nicæa and Sardica; and in A.D. 359, the British Church was represented at the Council of Arminium, but so poor was the Christian community in Britain, that its bishops were the only ones attending the Council who accepted the allowance for expenses offered by the Emperor; this they did, says Sulpicius Severus, "because they considered it more proper to burden the treasury than individuals."

In the middle of the century the British Churches wrote a formal letter to S. Athanasius signifying their adhesion to the Nicene Creed; while later, the writings of S. John Chrysostom, S. Jerome, and the historian Sozomen, show that there was in Britain a settled Church, with its altars, Scriptures, and discipline, holding intercourse with Rome, and even with Palestine. (cf. Dr. Cutts, *op. cit.*).

One of the most tantalising figures in early Church History is a member of the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, who came from outside the borders of the Roman Empire and signed himself "John of Persia, in all Persia and Great India" in assenting to the decrees of the Council. "Of Bishop John and his diocese," says Dr. Ogilvie, "nothing more is known than these words tell; but presumably Persia was his headquarters, and some part of India had for him at least a nominal interest. Exactly what part, no one can tell; but the

probabilities point to the India west of the Punjab, as being most contiguous to the Persian portion of this vast and shadowy diocese" (*The Apostles of India*, p. 49). Dr. Wigram, however, in his authoritative *History of the Assyrian Church*, suggests that "Persia" is probably a misreading for "Perrha," since "Persia" was never the name of a see in the Assyrian Church."

About the middle of the same century, the veil is again raised to slightly better purpose. In the year 354, or thereabouts, a visit was paid to the Indian community by "Theophilus, the Indian" (cf. Dr. Ogilvie, *ibid.*, pp. 49, 50), and from that time onward the intercourse between Rome and the Christian Churches of India appears to have been fairly continuous.

Once peace and liberty of action had been secured to the Church, missionary activity was pursued with the utmost vigour. This receives its finest illustration, perhaps, in the fascinating story of the conversion of Armenia. By A.D. 332, through the preaching of S. Gregory "the Illuminator," Armenia had embraced the Faith—the first entire nation to be converted—and had an archbishop and several bishops. Successors of S. Gregory were Neres, Sahak, and Mesrop. The last-named was the elaborator of the Armenian alphabet, and, with Sahak the patriarch, and others, translated the Bible into Armenian. Of this Version it is said that "for beauty of diction and accuracy of rendering, it cannot be surpassed" (cf. F. C. Conybeare, in Hastings *D.B.*).

Abyssinia was converted to the Christian Faith in this century, and its first bishop, Frumentius, was consecrated by S. Athanasius in A.D. 356. An Ethiopic translation of the Scriptures, apparently begun by Frumentius, was completed a little later (cf. Canon Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 356).

At this period the strongest centre of the Church in Western Asia was Antioch, where, in A.D. 320, of a population of 200,000, half were Christians. Then, later, in A.D. 341, when a large number of bishops met

at Antioch to celebrate the dedication of the Golden Church erected by Constantine, we have a hint of another phase of Church life in the magnificence of its buildings.

In France, the name of S. Martin of Tours looms up like a beacon, and whether directly, or through his inspiring influence, most of the lingering paganism having been overcome, the work of consolidation was going on apace.

Switzerland had an episcopal see at Zurich, and although German pagan invaders overran the country in the fifth century, the Church was re-established and secure by the end of the seventh. The sees of Martigny in the Valais and of Lausanne are believed to have been founded in the first half of the fourth century.

The Teutonic Goths, pressing southward from the Baltic, occupied what is now Roumania on the north bank of the Danube and, when pressed by the Huns, were allowed by the Emperor Valens to cross the river and to settle in the Roman province of Moesia, about A.D. 376. These Goths were the first of the Germanic nations to receive the Faith—probably from Christian captives. A Gothic bishop, Theophilus, attended the Council of Nicæa, and, under King Athanaric, the Gothic Christians had to endure a persecution during which SS. Nicetas and Saba were amongst the martyrs. Christianity made rapid progress, however, and one of their bishops, Ulfilas, both invented an alphabet and translated the Bible into the Gothic tongue. The greater part of this version is still extant. Unfortunately, Ulfilas embraced the tenets of Arianism and introduced it amongst his countrymen so that, when the Visigoths set up their new kingdom in Gaul and Spain, Arianism was the form of Christianity which characterised it. Not until the Council of Toledo, A.D. 587, was the reconciliation of the whole nation to the Catholic Faith effected.

Before closing the account of this century in a broad generalisation, and seeing that we have referred to

countries widely separated from each other, it seems almost a duty to return to the birthplace of Christianity for a few moments by mentioning one of its famous bishops, Cyril, who was bishop of Jerusalem from the year 351 until his death in 386. During this time the Arian controversy was raging, and twice Cyril was deposed from his bishopric, but recalled. His Catechetical Lectures have survived, and are not only illustrative of the norm of Christian doctrine, but also of the carefulness with which candidates for baptism were instructed.

"The Fourth Century," says Mr. Malden, "stands with the sixteenth as one of the great eras of creed-making. It saw the canon of the New Testament authoritatively determined—that is, the final rejection of all the attempts to supplement, by means of forged gospels, revelations, and epistles, what God has been pleased to make known to us. It saw the Roman baptismal creed, commonly called the 'Apostles' Creed, in almost its present form; it saw two councils, of Nicæa and Constantinople (325 and 381), whose joint labours gave birth to what was accepted by the Council of Chalcedon in 451 as the 'Nicene' Creed—the only formula, be it noted, which has ever commanded the allegiance of both East and West. If the canon of Scripture had not been authoritatively settled; if there had been no authoritative formula to guarantee unity of teaching, the Church must, humanly speaking, have melted away among the masses of heathen who were so soon to press upon it. The work of the fourth century secured the possibility of effective missionary progress in the future" (*Foreign Missions*, p. 36).

THE FIFTH CENTURY.

WE cannot be reminded too often in studying the expansion of the Early Church, how that political events and the attitude of rulers have been great factors in either hindering or helping the Church. Sometimes an event which, at first sight, had no seeming connection with Church extension, has had far-reaching effects which were not dreamt of at the time. On the other hand, the support of the State, eagerly seized on after the times of persecution were over, did not bring with it the blessings which had been so fondly expected. The Church had to grow into widening circles of experience, and so leave lessons for ages yet to come.

In the year 378 a Roman army was completely defeated by the Goths at the Battle of Hadrianople, and the Emperor Valens killed. This date may be regarded as, in a sense, the beginning of the Middle Ages. The battle showed the Barbarians of the North that Rome was not invincible; thirty-two years later, the world was thrilled by the news that the Imperial City had been sacked by a Gothic army. Not only did it seem that civilisation, law, and order, were being swept away, but the work of the Church received a severe shock in many parts of the Empire; and, as great numbers of heathen established themselves as conquerors in various parts, the work of evangelisation had to be begun all over again with new types of people, mostly of a savage disposition. All this means that the normal processes of evangelisation and consolidation cannot be traced in anything like a systematic way. Moreover, in keeping to the division of our subject by centuries, we are naturally obliged to refer to different countries in what may, at first sight, seem to be a disconnected manner.

Early in the fifth century Christianity began to make more rapid advance in Persia. Mainly owing to the

influence of S. Marruthas, King Isdegard granted a considerable measure of freedom to the Church, which might have been continued, had not Abdas, the bishop of Susa, by an act of indiscreet zeal, set fire to a pagan temple, and so aroused a persecution which continued until A.D. 450.

Following this, Nestorianism gained a firm foothold and Catholic communities were for a long time suppressed. Nestorius had been condemned by the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. He was Patriarch of Constantinople. By denying the equivalent of the title "Mother of God" to the Blessed Virgin Mary, he was charged with having made Christ a "creature." The other heresy with which he was charged was even more serious, since, according to it, the Divine and Human elements in our Lord were so distinct as to form, not merely two Natures, but also two Persons, the Divine Word dwelling in the human Jesus. Nestorius was banished beyond the frontiers of the Roman Empire, and if he really held the views he is credited with, his opponents could hardly have acted otherwise. It is not unlikely, however, that his condemnation was due to a misconception in regard to his teaching, owing to the extreme difficulty of giving exact renderings of Greek in Syriac, and *vice versa*. However this may be, it was largely owing to the wonderful activity of Nestorian missionaries that Christianity was spread over a great part of Central Asia. The influence of the Nestorian missions might well become a subject of profitable study, particularly since it has now become extremely probable that Nestorius did not teach the heretical doctrines imputed to him. (See *Nestorius and his Teaching*, Bethune-Baker; *The Assyrian Church*, Dr. Wigram.)

The earliest trace of Christianity in what now constitutes Afghanistan is the attendance of a bishop of Herat at the Council of Seleucia in A.D. 424. This is a mere scrap of information about a whole country, and we long in vain for more details, feeling that

information about methods of work, failures as well as successes, would be of inestimable value to the missionaries of to-day in the vast continent of Asia.

But to come nearer home, the date A.D. 432 is an outstanding one for the British Isles; for in that year S. Patrick began his mission in Ireland which resulted in the speedy conversion of the whole nation. We cannot here devote space to give even the briefest sketch of his life, much less to deal with the legendary matter which clusters round the name of this eminent patron saint. This has been done by Professor Stokes in *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, with all the weight of a judicious authority. A valuable criticism of his life and work, however, taken from the Rev. R. H. Malden's *Foreign Missions*, is worth quoting:—

“We see strongly developed in him the three great characteristics which must be found in every missionary:—

“(1.) An overwhelming sense on the inward call to the work, which can enable a man to say with S. Paul, ‘Woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel’ (1 Cor. ix. 16).

“(2.) A high degree of personal courage in the face of active hostility.

“(3.) A statesmanlike grasp of the strategic points in the geographical formation of the country, and the character of the people.

“Many of the conversions brought about by any great missionary pioneer are inevitably only skin-deep; but, once the foundations have been laid, smaller men can be found who are able to build upon them. S. Patrick's career is in no sense unique; it has had its parallels elsewhere in the past; under altered conditions, it has them even in our own day. We may be sure that God will never fail to raise up such men so long as the heathen world calls for their work.”

The Burgundians, a Teutonic people whose original home lay on the shores of the Baltic, established their kingdom in France and soon afterwards embraced

Christianity. In A.D. 417, the priest Orosius commended the mildness of these Burgundians who treated their subjects in Gaul as Christian brethren. Owing to their relations with their Visigoth neighbours the Burgundians for a time lapsed into Arianism. Notable amongst their clergy were SS. Eucherius and Patiens, successively bishops of Lyons; S. Sidonius Appollinaris, bishop of Valence, and his brother, S. Avitus, the learned bishop of Vienne and champion of orthodoxy at the conference between the Catholics and the Arians in A.D. 499. King Sigismund returned to the Catholic Faith in A.D. 516, and Arianism entirely disappeared from among the Burgundians after the kingdom had passed under the dominion of the Franks in A.D. 534.

The real history of the Franks begins in A.D. 481 with the accession of King Clovis. In our study of the missions of the Church, Clovis is perhaps the most important figure of the early Middle Ages, so the circumstances of his conversion ought to find a place here. He had married Clotilda, a Burgundian princess who was a Christian, and according to Gregory of Tours, she is said to have made attempts to convert her husband. "What her entreaties could not effect, the crisis of war brought about. During a battle against the Alemanni the Franks were hard pressed and beginning to yield. Clovis raised his eyes to heaven and invoked the aid of Christ. Forthwith the tide of battle turned and the Alemanni fled. Remigius, at the instance of Clotilda, called on Clovis to fulfil his vow. 'Gladly,' replied the King, 'but first I must obtain the consent of my own people.' His warriors signified their assent in the well known words, 'Gods that die we cast away from us; the God that dies not, Whom Remigius preaches, we are prepared to follow.' On Christmas Day, 496, Clovis was baptised at Rheims. 'Gently, Sicambrian, bow down thy head; worship what thou hast hitherto destroyed; destroy what thou hast hitherto worshipped,' were the apt words of Remigius" (Murray's *Dict. of Christian Biography*, art. "Clovis").

The fifth century saw the beginning of Christianity in Scotland through the preaching of S. Ninian. His father was a Christian and had had his son baptised. The young man soon manifested a desire to visit Rome. There he seems to have remained as a student for some years and was raised to the episcopate by the Pope himself—probably Siricius. He returned to Britain, calling on S. Martin of Tours and receiving from him masons to build churches. Having converted the Southern Picts of Galloway, he built a great church which he dedicated in honour of S. Martin whose death had just taken place, and also a monastery, at Whit-horn, where he established his episcopal see. After nearly forty years of apostolic labour, S. Ninian died in A.D. 432.

The labours of S. Palladius and his disciples, S. Ternan and S. Serf, probably belong to this period. They continued Ninian's missionary work amongst the Southern Picts, and their names are still preserved in many parts of Scotland. The number of dedications to S. Ninian show the extent of the veneration in which he was held. (See Bishop Mitchell's *Short History of the Church in Scotland*.)

THE SIXTH CENTURY.

THE sixth century supplies one of those rare glimpses of the Far East which affords clear evidence of the progress of evangelisation. Assemani quotes Cosmas (Indicopleustes), who wrote about A.D. 535, as saying : " In the island of Taprobana (i.e. Ceylon, or, possibly, Sumatra), towards inner India, where the Indian Ocean is, there is a Church of Christians where clergy and believers are found. Whether there are Christians beyond (that is, in Southern China), I do not know " (Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, iii. 2, 437). This work is a collection of Syriac and other MSS. published in Rome, A.D. 1719—1728. The complete list of Nestorian dioceses given by Assemani occupies eighty folio pages. (Cf. Canon Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 260.)

The illustrious name of S. Martin of Tours, who died about A.D. 397, overshadows to some extent another S. Martin who died about A.D. 580. This S. Martin was a person of importance about whom, unfortunately, our information is scanty, but he left sufficient literary remains to mark him as one of the greatest scholars of his day. Various references to him, and accounts of his work not only as bishop of Dumium in Galicia, but later, as metropolitan of Braga, show him to have been a wise and able ruler. He is especially famous for the part he played about A.D. 561 in bringing the Suevian nation back from Arianism to the paths of orthodoxy, a circumstance which had far-reaching effects on Western Christendom. He was greatly mourned by the people of Galicia.

S. Vedast, A.D. 540, was at this time making progress in converting the Flemings. His work seems to have gone on in a quite normal manner, for we have no accounts of outstanding incidents in his career.

In A.D. 587, under King Recared, the whole Visigoth nation in Spain renounced Arianism and embraced the Catholic Faith.

One of the great names of this century is that of Columba, a name which, in successive ages, has always appealed to the popular imagination on account of the venture and romance with which the life and work of this great missionary is associated. Born in Donegal, A.D. 521, of the royal clan of O'Donnell, Columba was brought up as a Christian and educated at Clonard, chiefly under S. Finian, who made him his deacon, and by bishop Etchen of Clonfad, by whom he was ordained priest. Somewhere about A.D. 544, he was instrumental in founding a number of monasteries, his chief favourites being Durrow and Derry. When about forty years of age, he was involved in a quarrel between some of the inhabitants of Ulster and Meath in the course of which several people were killed. "In consequence of S. Columba's participation in this quarrel, a synod was assembled at Teltown in Meath to excommunicate him for his share in shedding Christian blood, and if the sentence of excommunication was not actually pronounced, it was owing to the exertions of S. Brendan of Birr and bishop Finian on his behalf. Whether by the charge of the synod of Teltown, that he must win as many souls to Christ by his preaching as lives were lost at Cul-Dreimhne, or through his own feeling of remorse, or his great desire for the conversion of the heathen, he left Ireland in 563, being forty-two years old, and, traversing the sea in a currach of wicker-work covered with hides, landed with his twelve companions on the small island of I-Hy, I-colum-kille, Iova, or Iona, situated about two miles off the S.W. extremity of Mull in Argyllshire" (Murray's *Dict. of Christian Biography*). Here was founded that famous monastery which played so great a part in the conversion of the south of Scotland and the northern parts of England. Truly, here were piety, learning, and evangelistic zeal blended together in a wonderful

way. Perhaps it is true to say, that as a headquarters of itinerating evangelists, Iona has not been surpassed in any age. When Columba died in 597, "Ireland justly mourned for one of the best of her sons, Scotland for one of her greatest benefactors."

S. Columba maintained his connection with Ireland, retaining the superintendence of his monasteries to the last. By his monks the Faith was spread in the Hebrides and over the northern and western highlands. S. Machor, one of his community of Iona, became first bishop of Aberdeen. S. Servanus preached in the Orkneys, and S. Kentigern, otherwise known as S. Mungo, founded the see of Glasgow, where he died in A.D. 603. "Columba occupies in missionary history the entire generation preceding the arrival of Augustine, A.D. 597. The Celtic Apostle of Caledonia died the very year in which the Roman mission set foot in the south of Britain. The first abbot of Iona laboured much longer, in a far wider sphere, and, personally, with more success, as well as prodigiously more romance, than the first archbishop of Canterbury" (Murray, *op. cit.*).

Like many other countries of Europe in the Middle Ages, Britain suffered from being overrun and devastated by heathen conquerors. The ancient British Church, driven into the fastnesses of Wales and Cornwall, through national pride took no part in the conversion of the conquerors. Steps were taken directly and indirectly from Iona to convert the north of England, and also, directly, from Rome. The story of the mission of S. Augustine and its inception is well known, but ought to be given here at reasonable length on account of the lessons we can learn from it. We venture, therefore, to quote the Rev. R. H. Malden's interesting summary given in his valuable book on *Foreign Missions*.

"The attention of Pope Gregory the Great was caught by the appearance of some slave boys exposed for sale at Rome. He inquired to what country they

belonged, and when he learned that it was a heathen one, determined to do what he could for its conversion. It is worth while to notice that England had no special claim upon him of any kind. Its political connection with Rome had ceased nearly two centuries earlier.

"The Pope neither exercised nor claimed any jurisdiction over the remnants of the British Church. Famine and pestilence had brought the fortunes of the Romans themselves to a very low ebb. But the mere knowledge that there was a heathen country which might be reached was a sufficient reason for trying to reach it without delay.

"The Pope's first step was to commission his agent in Gaul to buy any English slave lads of seventeen or eighteen who were being taken through the country, and forward them to him that he might have them educated and sent back as missionaries to their own land. We have, however, no information as to the success of this scheme.

"About the same time he dispatched Augustine, one of the chief officials of the monastery of S. Andrew, with about forty monks to preach to the English. They set out, probably in the early spring of 596. When they had got as far as the famous monastery of Lerins, an island off the southern coast of Gaul, their courage failed them. They were ignorant of the English language and received alarming reports as to the ferocious character of the people. Augustine was sent back to Rome to beg that they might be relieved of their mission. When he returned, he brought a letter from the Pope, dated July 23rd, 596, exhorting them to persevere. The party advanced slowly, engaging some Frankish priests to act as interpreters; and it was not until after Easter, 597, that they landed in the Isle of Thanet." We must not trespass further on what is really the domain of English Church History, and so, with the picture of S. Augustine and his companions in the enjoyment of the first-fruits of their labours, we bring this period to a close.

THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

To avoid confusing S. Columbanus with S. Columba, it has been thought well to include Columbanus in the account of the seventh century. The similarity of their names, and the fact that they both came from Ireland and were great missionaries, prevents many, with only a slight knowledge of the subject, from distinguishing their position one from the other as missionary pioneers.

S. Columbanus was born in Leinster about A.D. 543, and received the greater part of his education at the monastery of Bangor, on Belfast Lough, then at the zenith of its fame, and perhaps the best educational establishment in Europe. Like Columba, he was forty years of age when he left his native land, and Columba's example may have been an incentive to him in his determination to engage in missionary labours. He passed through Britain and landed in the north of France with twelve companions, at once beginning those journeyings from place to place without any settled plan, which seems always to have been a favourite method with Celtic missionaries. For some years he does not appear to have thought of founding a monastery; but finding himself well received by King Gontran at the court of Burgundy, the old Roman castle of Annegray in a deserted part of the Vosges Mountains, which the king had given him, became the mother-house of the more famous monasteries of Luxeuil and Fontaines.

For twenty years, in the wooded and almost inaccessible mountains, Columbanus laboured with his monks, and all classes of men gathered round him notwithstanding the severe discipline of his rule. But he became unpopular with the Gallican clergy, partly because his life of self-denial was a rebuke to the laxity of some, and partly because he clung tenaciously to certain Irish customs. Unpopularity deepened into

hatred at the Burgundian court and this led to his banishment.

His next sphere was in the neighbourhood of Lake Constance, where he and his companions stayed for a time and preached the Gospel to the heathen Swiss, founding the great monasteries of Reichenau and S. Gall—the latter named after one of the saint's brother monks. When, after a few years, the district was brought under the power of Burgundy, Columbanus had to flee again. With one disciple only, he passed south across the Alps into Lombardy, where he was honourably received by King Agilulf, who presented him with a district in the wild gorges of the Apennines, between Genoa and Milan, and here he built his celebrated monastery of Bobbio. In his day, and immediately afterwards, Bobbio was a stronghold of orthodoxy against the Arians, while modern learning owes an almost incalculable debt to the collections of manuscripts which were made there. On November 21st, 615, Columbanus passed away at Bobbio. A modern pilgrim writes: "The monastery buildings consist of a chapel, cloisters, and crypt; they are State monuments, as is the case with many such in Italy. The cloisters are in good condition, but the chapel is no longer used for service. The stone sarcophagus is directly under the High Altar in the well-lighted crypt. A brass tablet near by, records that it has been restored in recent years." The life of S. Columbanus has been summed up in these words: "History shows us few more courageous missionaries, and few whose life's work produced more enduring results."

The century is noteworthy for the conversion of the Angles and Saxons which was carried out without cessation. Although there were times of reaction and relapse, the Faith spread throughout the whole of England. In A.D. 633, the Angles of Deira (Yorkshire) were converted, with Edwin their king, through the preaching of Paulinus. In A.D. 635, Wessex received the Gospel from Birinus, an Italian monk, who

apparently came direct from Rome. In 658, Wulfhere, a Christian, became king of Mercia, and during the seventeen years of his reign, did all he could to further the cause of his religion.

The Angles of Bernicia, that is, the eastern districts of England and Scotland from the Tees to the Forth, were made Christian by the monks of Iona, whom S. Oswald had invited to Northumbria. S. Aidan fixed his see at Lindisfarne, whence it was transferred to Durham three centuries later. Many students of English Church History will agree with Canon Robinson when he says: "If we are justified in giving to any individual missionary the title of Apostle of England, it is Aidan to whom the title is due" (*How the Gospel spread through Europe*; see also Bishop Lightfoot's *Leaders of the Northern Church*). S. Aidan "was at one and the same time missionary, bishop, and saint. Until his death in 651 he never ceased his great work, journeying everywhere on foot, drawing large crowds to listen to him; but always converting men, as much by his own lovable life as by his words. There are few more touching stories in history than that of the friendship between Oswald the king and Aidan the bishop, the former interpreting, while the latter preached to the people the religion in which they both devotedly believed" (Cecil and Clayton, in *Our National Church*). S. Aidan recognised the great truth that the best people to minister to those of a different race from his own, were members of that race; and it shows his wisdom in training and selection, that S. Chad, who founded the see of Lichfield, and Cedd, his brother, who worked among the East Saxons, were, both of them, taken from among his pupils.

The last stronghold of paganism in England, the kingdom of the South Saxons, was broken down by the preaching of bishop Wilfrid at a time when he was absent from his northern see of York.

In A.D. 668, when Theodore became Archbishop of Canterbury—the first archbishop whom the whole

English Church consented to obey—the whole country had political unity, and the work of the pioneer missionaries gave place to the task of consolidation. But more than this, before a hundred years had passed since the coming of Augustine, the Church in England had sent its missionaries to Holland. S. Wilfrid of York, when banished from his diocese in A.D. 679, preached for a time in Friesland; but the true founder of the Dutch Church was the monk S. Willibrord, a native of Northumberland, who had been educated in the monastery of Ripon. He laboured in Holland in A.D. 690, and fixed his see at Utrecht.

Much interesting information in regard to the Nestorian Missions in Asia during this and the following century has been collected, and may be read in Canon Robinson's book, pp. 164ff. The most interesting thing is the account of how, in A.D. 635, a band of Syrian monks, headed by one called Ah-lo-pên, made their way to Hsi-an or Ch'ang-an. We are fortunate enough to possess a first-hand record of his work, and of all that ensued until the year 781, in the form of a monument erected in that year.¹ (A good account of this mission may be read in Moule's interesting book, *The Chinese People*.)

Before closing the brief statement about this century, mention ought to be made of the rise of Mohammedanism. This is a subject concerning which there is very little accurate knowledge amongst English people, but one which amply repays a fuller study than many are inclined to give to it. It is hoped that the few notes which we are able to supply here, may awaken a deeper interest in a problem which is, year by year, becoming a matter of the greatest importance.

In A.D. 570, the founder of Mohammedanism was born at Mecca. From him sprang the movement that became the greatest power against which the Church of

¹ Chinese Christians in Borneo are very proud of this monument, pictures of which are frequently to be seen in Chinese publications. E.P.

the Middle Ages had to contend. The tide of Mohammedan invasion swept away the great Churches of North Africa, and advanced into Europe until it was rolled back by Charles Martel in the battle of Tours, A.D. 732. Of all the calamities and defeats that ensued, none was greater than when Constantinople finally fell into Mohammedan hands in 1453, and the glorious church of S. Sophia was turned into a mosque.

To understand Mohammedanism, it must be remembered that Mohammed claimed to be a greater prophet than Jesus Christ. Consequently, Christianity, with its institutions and documents, has been superseded, and the authority of Mohammed and the Koran is absolute. Dr. Leighton Pullan has shown how the teaching of the Koran compares with Christianity. "The Koran," he says, "presents us with a grotesque mixture of Jewish and Christian teaching. In the retention of circumcision; in the belief that Jesus is one of the six successive founders of true religion; in the denial that Jesus is the Son of God, when the very word which Mohammed uses for 'Son' shows that he did not understand what the phrase meant on Christian lips; in the repudiation of the Trinity, and identification of the Holy Ghost with Gabriel; in its parody of the Eucharist; in the Docetic opinion that Christ died only in appearance; in the confusion of Mary with Miriam; in the elaborate angelology; in the tiers of heavens occupied by saints from Adam to John the Baptist, we find that Islam has crystallised the dreams of an ignorant Judaising Christianity of an Essene character. And when we recollect that Islam has wiped out the Christianity which covered Roman Africa and penetrated to the Sudan, and that it has crushed the long line of bishoprics which existed in Persia and Arabia, and still thwarts Christianity at every turn, we must admit that it has seldom been granted to an enemy to wreak such a revenge as the preachers of 'another gospel' have had upon the converts of S. Paul" (*History of Early Christianity*, p. 217).

THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

HAVING closed the last century with a short reference to Mohammedanism, it is necessary once more to point out its main geographical position. It was like a great flood over all the Near East and North Africa, cutting off all communication with the Far East. The Far East has always exercised a powerful attraction over Western peoples, and those scattered bits of information about Christianity which filtered through from the more remote regions, made vivid appeals to the imagination, as, indeed, they do in our own day. But many people have little patience when invited to follow, in detail, the spread of the Gospel over a comparatively small area; there is a suspicion that the account will be dry and lacking interest. Consequently, the study of the progress of the Gospel in Europe has not met with the same sympathetic treatment which the thrilling narration of missionary effort in the vast and unknown regions of Asia has awakened; and yet, how true it is that in countries quite "near home" the past ages of the Church abound with the records of deeds of courage, feats of endurance, amazing successes, and with all the fascination which glows round the many great names of her intrepid pioneers! In any attempted survey of the missionary enterprise of the next few centuries, Europe, therefore, must occupy the more prominent position.

In the eighth century, England stands out as the nursery of famous missionaries. S. Willibrord and his arrival in Holland have already been mentioned, but the bare fact conveys little, and as his work belongs chiefly to this century, it cannot be passed over without fuller consideration.

When Willibrord and his twelve companions first landed at the south of the Rhine and were refused a

hearing by Rathbod the king, their precarious position and unknown future made a far greater demand upon faith than does the case of the loneliest missionary of modern times, who, at least, has some assurance of help and support from the "home base." In A.D. 719, however, after the death of Rathbod, Pepin, Duke of the Franks, gave him Utrecht for his archiepiscopal see. Then, instead of settling down to the consolidation of his position—a tendency which may, at times, be a temptation to lethargy—he made a missionary journey into Denmark. When he found that the Danes would not listen to him, instead of returning home disheartened, this wise master-builder, who must have had very great persuasive powers, managed to obtain thirty boys to educate, with a view to sending them back as missionaries to their own countrymen. Thus providing for the future, and cheered with visions of hope, he was enabled to continue his good work until A.D. 739, when at the ripe age of eighty-three, he passed away in a monastery which he had founded at Epternach near Treves.

It is hard to gauge the effect of one such great life on the many other lives with which he came in contact in the course of so eventful a career; but of this we may be certain, his earlier friends whom he overshadowed, and his later unknown disciples, all played their part in extending the Kingdom of God. As we leave Willibrord, and pass on to another great Englishman, it is perhaps well to remind ourselves of a simple fact of history which is sometimes not taken full account of by the general reader, namely, that the boundaries of the various countries of Europe were, for many centuries, in an elastic condition, and that, therefore, in exactness, we have frequently to deal with races and tribes rather than with defined territorial outlines.

The German tribes were, for the most part, still buried in heathenism; only in the north-west, through the preaching of S. Willibrord and his companions, and

in the south-west, through the gradual conversion of the Alemanni of Baden and Swabia since their subjugation by the Franks, had any impression been made.

About the year 716, Winfrith, or Winfrid, better known as S. Boniface, entered upon his great missionary career and became the veritable "Apostle of Germany," a designation which will always belong to him in history. Born at Crediton, in Devonshire, he renounced a life of high honour in his own country and devoted himself to the missionary cause. Like several of his famous predecessors, he was no mere boy, full of enthusiasm, when he entered on his work abroad, but a man of forty who had counted the cost.

The first years of his missionary labours were disappointing on account of intervening wars and disturbances; then followed a period in which he was associated with Willibrord; in A.D. 723, he went, for the second time, to Rome where he was consecrated bishop, though no place was named as his see. From dangerous journeyings in a war-stricken land, he passed through the usual difficulties of a pioneer until later, making his way into Bavaria, he fixed his episcopal see at Mainz. During the labours of thirty years, he built up a perfectly organised Church in what had hitherto been heathen lands. His former influential position no doubt helped to spread his fame as reports reached England. At any rate, his influence must have been the chief means of inspiring the great number of monks and nuns who, in a steady stream, were ready to brave the passage of the North Sea, and with stout hearts and unwavering faith to face the dangers and difficulties of missionary work in an unknown land. Not a few of these English priests became bishops of dioceses founded by S. Boniface, whose appeals for help and for volunteers read like those of a modern missionary. To few modern apostolic men, however, has such a privilege been given as was his when he crowned Pepin as the Christian King of the Franks in A.D. 751—one of the most decisive events in the history of Europe.

As Archbishop of Mainz, his authority over all the Christian peoples of the provinces beyond the Rhine; and the organisation of the Church in Hesse, Thuringia, and Bavaria was the great work of his life. Never throughout the long years of his strenuous life did his evangelistic zeal waver; even in his old age, it constrained him to venture forth to the scene of his first efforts among the still heathen Frisians, and here he met a martyr's death in A.D. 755.

"One point in the career of S. Boniface calls for special notice. When he became bishop he took an oath of obedience, strongly expressed, and unreserved, to the Roman See. Thus from its outset the German Church was brought into close connection with the Papacy. There can be little doubt that this was a wise course. It kept the German Church from becoming a mere appanage of the Carolingian House. For many centuries the Papacy was the only source to which it was possible to look for reform in Church matters, and it directed events in Europe with incomparable skill. S. Boniface would have required more than human foresight to divine how intolerable its claims were destined to become" (R. H. Malden, *Foreign Missions*).

The strength of the Christian Faith was manifest in the early ages of the Church when persecution failed to stamp it out. Its acceptance was a matter of individual choice, and the martyr death of a Christian slave could widely influence those in high position. But there are a number of instances in the history of the Church when the attempt to impose Christianity from above has been made. In the case of a king becoming a Christian, many of his courtiers would follow his example, but not always from the worthiest motives, even though it may have been a matter of free choice. It is sad, after the noble lives of SS. Willibrord and Boniface, to have to recount one of the worst of these cases.

The Saxons of Westphalia, Hanover, and Olden-

burg, were brought to accept Christianity by Charlemagne. But the methods adopted, being in the nature of persecution, were a fruitful source of trouble for two centuries after. It is not too much to say that an anti-Christian ferocity was stirred up which later brought great misery on England through the inroads of the Danes who had learned to sympathise with their Saxon neighbours, and showed a bitter hostility to Christianity through its being identified, in their minds, with a system all too common throughout the Middle Ages, by which conversions were effected at the edge of the sword.

It is a relief to turn to the name of another great Englishman, S. Willehad. A native of Northumbria, he was a friend of Alcuin of York, and when about forty years of age, went to preach the Gospel among the Frisians and Saxons. After fearlessly labouring amid great opposition for seventeen years, he was consecrated bishop of Bremen in A.D. 787, but only survived another two years' missionary hardship.

In this century, the far-off country of Japan comes before our notice for the first time. "The first Christian who is reported to have visited Japan was a Nestorian physician whose Japanese name was Rimitsu, and who was present at the court of the Emperor Shomu, A.D. 724—748, whose consort, the Empress Komyo, bore the title 'Light and Illumination,' which was the official name by which the Christian Faith was known in China at that time. She is described by Japanese writers as a great saint, and as one by whom miracles were wrought. It is possible to suppose that she may have become a Christian under the influence of Rimitsu" (Canon Robinson, *op. cit.* p. 219).

THE NINTH CENTURY.

It is to the Scandinavian lands that our attention is first of all directed in the ninth century, and perhaps no countries afford a finer example of the civilising influences of Christianity than do Norway, Sweden, and Denmark at this period. The simplest method of dealing with the extension of the Gospel in these countries will be to record some leading names and dates, after which some brief reflections will conveniently follow.

The great name of Anscharius, archbishop of Hamburg, stands well to the front, and will ever command respect and admiration on account of the repeated journeys which he made to Denmark and Sweden between A.D. 830 and 853, with intense toil, and amid many and great dangers, succeeding in planting the Faith in these wild and inhospitable regions.

The Norwegians no doubt obtained their first knowledge of Christianity on their piratical expeditions; but, later, their kings, Harold Harfager, A.D. 872—885, and Haakon his son, who had been educated and baptised in England, did much to introduce Christianity amongst their subjects; though it was not until the eleventh century that Olaf II. with the help of English and German missionaries, succeeded in establishing the Church in Norway on a solid foundation.

Beyond the bare recital of missionary facts concerning these countries, there are a few things which demand further consideration in order to fill in the picture.

Geographically, we are in a colder atmosphere than in the parts of Holland and Germany which came before our notice in treating of the previous century. Low-lying Denmark was, of course, very different from the highly cultivated and prosperous country of to-day.

Sweden, with her tablelands and multitude of inland lakes, however, has not changed her main features; but Norway, with her massed mountain ranges, turbulent rivers, and wonderful fjords, presents bold characteristics such as defy the modifying hand of man; in addition to which, the protracted darkness of winter into which we are plunged the farther north we travel, and the severe climatic conditions, indicate that the inhabitants must be of a hardy race.

Norsemen, Northmen, or Danes—names by which they were all generically known in England—caused their influence to spread far and wide. One indication of the terror which they inspired in England, is found in an old petition which for long had a place in the Litany: "From the fury of the Northmen, Good Lord deliver us."

Turning for a moment to English History, the year 787 is generally reckoned as the date of their first coming to England. They ravaged the whole country. Monasteries and churches were sacked and burned; clergy were slain; and the patient work of many years was often undone in a few hours. When we remember one or two dates, the terribleness and lasting effect of their invasions become more clearly impressed on our minds. Alfred, King of Wessex, spent the whole of his reign, A.D. 871—901, fighting them. In 991 the sum of £10,000 was paid to buy off their hostility; and in 1012, the English paid the Danes £48,000 as tribute.

After this, it comes as something of a surprise to know that many of the invaders were absorbed into the English race; and that their conversion to Christianity was genuine may be gauged by the fact that in less than a hundred years, three archbishops of the English Church belonged to the Danish race.

One reason for the turbulent character of the Danes was that, unlike many other peoples, they had never been tamed by the powerful influences of Roman civilisation; consequently, amongst them in their own countries, Christianity had some of its hardest

struggles. S. Anscharius died in 865 after thirty-four years' labour for the salvation of the heathen North, leaving an example of heroic persistence which it is impossible to over-rate.

Before the acceptance of Christianity, Scandinavian history is mostly shrouded in mystery. Stirring deeds and adventures fill up a large part of its many legends; but henceforward, the peoples of those northern lands can claim their share in the noble deeds of the Church Militant.

The next people to come before our notice are the Slavs. Here the name is used generically. They were an Aryan or Indo-German race which had, during the sixth and seventh centuries, possessed themselves of practically the whole of Eastern Europe. They are represented by ancient writers as an industrious race, living by agriculture and the rearing of flocks and herds; hospitable and peaceful, and making war only in defence. The feeling of nationality was, and still is, very strong amongst them.

The conversion of the Slavs had been attempted, with varying success, by both Greeks and Latins. The Croats, or Croatians, were the first of the Slavonic peoples to embrace Christianity, when, about A.D. 680, their prince, Porga, was baptised. Towards the close of the eighth century, the Carinthians were converted by priests sent from Salzburg, one of the important sees founded by S. Boniface. The Serbs had received instruction in the Christian religion during the reign of the Emperor Heraclius, but had lapsed into idolatry, from which they were regained about A.D. 868.

The beginning of Christianity among the Moravians was due to missions from Salzburg; but the real conversion of the Moravians and other Slavonic Tribes was the work of SS. Cyril and Methodius, two brothers born in Thessalonica, who are most justly called the "Apostles of the Slavs." The record of their work amongst the Moravians and Bulgarians is one of extraordinary interest, though, unfortunately, the various

accounts of the lives of the two saints are both meagre and contradictory.

As we have already noticed, some great missionary leaders went forth with twelve companions, in conscious or unconscious imitation of their Master; so, now, we have an instance of the going forth of two together on an equal footing. One great link which these two brothers have with modern missionaries is to be found in their linguistic work, for together they invented a Slavonic alphabet and translated the Scriptures. Only those who have had practical experience of labouring in a language that is not written down can appreciate the difficulties which they had to overcome. How we long for full and reliable biographies! When they pressed into Bohemia, some of their work must have been in at least two languages different from their own. A modern illustration is afforded by the conditions which exist in such a diocese as that of Labuan and Sarawak (Borneo), where Confirmations are held regularly in Chinese, Sea Dyak, and Malay. This language problem is one which is frequently overlooked in considering the work of many of the earliest missionaries.

Before leaving the Moravian Church, it may be necessary to remind some readers that it has no connection with those who to-day are known, variously, as Moravians, Moravian Brethren, or The Unity of the Brethren. These are a small Protestant sect who, somewhat doubtfully, trace their origin to the fifteenth century. They set an example in missionary zeal which members of the Church of England would do well to lay to heart.

Bohemia received its Christianity through the Moravian Church, its heathen duke Borzivoi, or Boriwoy, having been baptised by Methodius, who had been consecrated its first archbishop. The Czech population followed the example of their prince, Borzivoi, and of his saintly wife, Ludmilla; and although paganism regained a temporary ascendancy

when Prince Wenceslaus was murdered by his brother Boleslas I., under Boleslas II., surnamed the Pious, Christianity completely triumphed. The country remained for some time ecclesiastically subject to the bishop of Ratisbon, that is, until the see of Prague was founded in 968.

THE TENTH CENTURY.

THE work of converting the Slav races steadily continued, and thus forms the natural point of transition between ninth and tenth centuries. Of the countries now to be brought to our notice, Poland and Russia are the most important, and may be best viewed together, not only on account of their relationship, but also because of the marked contrasts between them.

"The seeds of Christianity are said to have been wafted into Poland from Moravia as early as the ninth century," and at the beginning of this century, stray refugees become another type of missionary. But the definite impetus to Christianity was to come from "above," when the Polish Duke Minceslas I. married Dombrawka, the daughter of the Christian king of Bohemia. He was baptised in A.D. 966, and his example was followed by a large number of his people. The first bishopric was erected at Posen, and the christianising of Poland was completed under Boleslas I., Minceslas' successor, who founded the archbishopric of Gnesen, with the sees of Kolberg, Cracow, and Breslau.

After the death of this king, Christian cohesion and political stability gave way before the heathen party; but at last, the people were led to see the folly of this, and the line of the ancient princes was restored in the person of Casimir who was found in a Benedictine monastery. The Pope released him from his vows, and one of the first acts of the new king was to abolish the remains of the Slavonic Liturgy, thus bringing his Church into closer union with the see of Rome.

It will not be out of place here to point out that it was the influence of the Papacy that established the kingdom; but Poland "almost from the first sacrificed the unity of the State to the dangerous independence

of the nobles, and after a brief period of prosperity, began to decline in strength, internally and externally, until at the end of the eighteenth century she disappeared from the state system of Europe, and her territories were divided among her more powerful rivals" (Dr. A. J. Grant, *A History of Europe*, p. 429).

The early history of Russia emerges from the shadows by contact with another race, when, in A.D. 862, the Northmen entered the country under Rurik. "This is described by the Russian historians as being, not a conquest, but a voluntary submission of the Russians, who were weary of anarchy, to the rulers of whose prowess they had heard. 'Our country is large and rich, but there is no order in it, come and rule over us' are the words of this famous invitation. With the arrival of Rurik the country emerged into definite form, and some approach to settled order" (Grant, *ibid.* p. 428).

The Church of Russia, like the smaller one of Poland, cannot claim anyone as "the Apostle of Russia," and here again, we have an instance of the Faith coming from "above." The account of this far-reaching event demands careful consideration.

"About the year 986, envoys from the principal religions of the world are said to have approached Vladimir, the Russian Prince. First came Bulgarian Mohammedans from the Volga, but the prohibition of wine entailed by their religion placed it out of court immediately. Next came some representatives of Western Christendom, whether from the Pope or not is uncertain. They seem to have presented Christianity in too foreign a dress to accord with Russian tenacity of ancestral custom. Next came Jews from among the Chazars of the Crimea, but the fact that they were without country or city of their own seemed to prove the futility of their creed. Eventually, Vladimir decided to send embassies to the chief religious centres and form his own opinion. The gorgeousness of the Church of Saint Sophia at Constantinople and the ser-

vices there so impressed the envoys that they decided that here indeed the true religion was to be found.

"Still Vladimir hesitated, but undertook to become a Christian if victory were granted to him in a war which he was waging. His arms were successful, and he married Anna, the sister of the Emperor Basil. He was baptised at Cherson in the Crimea, and shortly afterwards had his people baptised *en masse* in the river at Kieff, having had their principal idol, Peroun, dragged across country, scourged, and thrown into the stream. In this manner the foundations of the greatest national Church in the world were laid" (R. H. Malden, *op. cit.* p. 82; see also Stanley's *History of the Eastern Church*, p. 337).

In the account so far, it is worth noticing that while compulsory baptism cannot be approved, yet the destruction of a national idol by the ruler perhaps did more good than when, on some other occasions, the overthrow of an idol cost a missionary leader his life. We may also note here, the value of ceremonial in dealing with uncivilised people. It may be, as has often been suggested, that as the Russians were more Eastern than Western, from an ethnological point of view, they were more naturally inclined to appreciate ceremonial. Experience in the Mission Field frequently points to the need of some ceremonial; for instance, it has been admitted by a noted Wesleyan theologian that the Church of India must necessarily be a "ritualistic" church; and the same may be said in reference to China.

But to return to the Church of Russia, Michael, the first Metropolitan, with his bishops and priests, travelled from place to place baptising and instructing the people. Churches and schools were built; the Slavic Liturgy adopted from the Bulgarians; and, after Kieff, other sees were erected at Novgorod, Rostov, Chernigov, Vladimir, and Belgorod.

Recent events, fresh in the minds of the present generation, and the record of the persecution of the

Russian Church under the Soviet Government, with the gradual drawing together of the Anglican and Orthodox Communions, may, it is hoped, awaken in the minds of English people a desire to do fuller justice to the wonderful history of that branch of the Church which has preserved, perhaps, more of the earlier features of Eastern Christianity than has been generally recognised.

In Germany, the Saxon and Franconian peoples had chosen Henry of Saxony, more familiarly known as Henry the Fowler, to be king. As soon as his position was assured, there began a period of political consolidation which stands out in the history of Germany. Conquering the territory which was, later, to be known as Brandenburg, he effected its conversion to Christianity about A.D. 928.

The Magyars, who gave a great deal of trouble to Henry by their devastating raids on the south of Germany, come to our notice as a missionary problem a little later in the century. They had probably received their first glimmerings of Christian knowledge from captives taken in war, but in A.D. 966, Geisa, the prince of the pagan Magyars, became a Christian and did much to forward the conversion of his people. Under his son, Stephen I., who married Gisela, sister of the Emperor Henry II., the conversion of the Magyars was almost complete. "In the year 1000, he sent an embassy to the Pope to plead for his friendship, and for his own recognition as king of Hungary. The Pope conferred upon him and his successors the right to call themselves 'Apostolic Kings,' presenting him with a crown which still forms part of the Hungarian crown" (Canon Robinson, *How the Gospel spread through Europe*, p. 107).

This century is not without its martyr heroes. The great name which stands out is that of S. Adalbert, Archbishop of Prague. At this time Prussia was a closed door to the Gospel of the Cross. Idolatry reigned supreme, and was backed up by many bar-

barous customs. These were all indicative of the fierceness and cruelty of the inhabitants. There, in the neighbourhood of Danzig, Adalbert met his death in an unsuccessful attempt to convert the Prussians in the year 997.

In Denmark, missionaries had laboured steadily during the ninth century, and now the work entered upon a period of consolidation. Schleswig, with Poppo as its first bishop, and Aarhuus, were erected into episcopal sees about A.D. 948.

Iceland was colonised by the Northmen in A.D. 874, but Irish anchorites had settled there about a century earlier. An Irish monk named Dicuil, who wrote a book on geography in the year 825, tells us that thirty years before that time he had conversed with persons who had lived there. The truth of their story is supported by the fact that they told him that in summer it was as light at midnight as at midday.

An Icclander, named Thorwald, who had been converted in Saxony, took home with him a priest, Friedrich, in A.D. 981, and did most to promote Christianity among his countrymen. The next name connected with the Island is that of Thangbrand, an emissary of Olaf II., King of Norway, and though he, personally, was not a success, we hear that about the year 1000 Christianity was received by popular assembly, but paganism was not prohibited, and lingered on by its side till as late as the twelfth century. The first native bishop was consecrated in A.D. 1056, and fixed his see at Skalholt.

Greenland was discovered by Erck the Red and his Northmen in A.D. 986, and soon afterwards mention is made of twelve churches, several cloisters, and one convent of nuns. The first bishop was Albert who fixed his see at Gardar in the year 1055. "The Christian community in Greenland suddenly disappears from view about the end of the fifteenth century. Nothing certain is known of its end; but it was probably destroyed by pestilence. The country was practically un-

visited, and almost forgotten, till A.D. 1721, when a Danish missionary named Hans Egede landed to work among the remnants of the Eskimo" (R. H. Malden, *op. cit.* p. 76).

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

WE must now return in thought to Norway, connecting this century with the ninth. Norway had not been wholly converted, although much had been done to prepare the way before the ninth century closed. Reference has already been made to the work of King Harold Harfager and Haakon his son. Their attempts to introduce the Christian Religion had not made very great headway, for when a definite proposal was made by Haakon that his people should accept the new faith, it was unanimously rejected. This led to a reaction against the King, whose throne was far from secure; but in 960, he fell in battle.

The fact that Haakon died fighting against a foreign enemy probably helped to conciliate opinion in favour of the religion he had professed; but this slight advantage was soon lost when, in 967, Harold Bluetooth became master of Norway and began to attempt to plant the Christian Faith by methods of violence. Pagan reaction followed, and another Haakon, an Earl, who had helped Harold to conquer the country, so turned this to account that the popularity which he gained by his anti-Christian zeal enabled him to seize the sovereign power. His rule, however, was so oppressive that in a few years he was overthrown by Olaf Tryggwasson. This remarkable man had travelled much, and in A.D. 995, a year before he became king, had been baptised by Elphege, Bishop of Winchester, in the Scilly Isles. He returned to Norway fully determined to destroy paganism and was received with open arms. Personal popularity, however, could not blind the people's eyes to the fact that those who opposed him "he punished severely, killing some, mutilating others, and driving some into banishment" (Canon Robinson).

After the death of Olaf Tryggwasson, in the year

1000, paganism revived for a while until the supreme lordship of the country was in the hands of Olaf II., in A.D. 1017. He followed the example of his predecessor in using methods of force and compulsion, but also encouraged the work of Christian teachers. Olaf was killed in battle at the head of an army in which none but Christians were allowed to serve, July 29th, 1033, and was honoured as a saint and martyr. "The veneration with which he was regarded," says Mr. Malden, "contributed largely to the secure establishment of Christianity in what had been his kingdom. The career of these two men is a remarkable instance of the way in which God overrules unpromising beginnings to serve His purpose."

It is worth noticing how the Christian leaders brought to our notice during this period are both of them English. There is mention of one Siegfried, who was brought to Sweden, and about the year 1000, preached to the Norwegians; and Grimkele, who became the first bishop of Trondheim, or Drontheim, in A.D. 1148. Other sees were erected at Bergen, Hammer, and Stavanger.

Lief, son of Erck the Red, is said to have discovered, in A.D. 1001, Helluland, Markland, and Vinland, which are supposed to be the modern Labrador, Nova Scotia, and New England. It is even said that the Northmen in America were converted by missionaries whom Lief took with him from Norway. Of these preachers of the Gospel, the most notable was Eric, who had been consecrated bishop for these American Northmen at Lund, in Denmark, by Archbishop Adzer, in 1121.

The Slavs of Mecklenburg, amongst whom Christianity had been already preached, embraced the Faith under their prince, Gottschalk, about A.D. 1050. No great missionary name is associated with this district, but we must remember that monastic institutions, which played so great a part in the conversion and civilisation of Europe, soon became outposts of every important see. The popular idea of a monastery is that it is a

place of retirement from the world, and so, to a certain extent it is; but almost the opposite is true of most of the great monastic institutions of the early Middle Ages, before Europe became even nominally Christian. Long before the rise of the universities, it was the monasteries which conserved the ancient learning, and it must be borne in mind that, in those times, there was no hard and fast line between sacred and secular study. If a monastery was in a secluded place, that did not prevent it from becoming a hive of industry. Where a new foundation might be made many miles from the parent house, it generally involved hardships to the community and risk of life amongst wild and savage people, but its influence as a centre of civilisation would be difficult to reckon. For the most part, the monasteries were the training ground of the missionaries, and though not all the members of a community would manifest the same missionary enthusiasm, we shall not be far wrong in drawing a picture of many small bands of men eager to answer the call to service with the words: "Here am I, send me." One great monastery, in particular, deserves mention as having been the scene of constant usefulness ever since the time of its foundation in the eleventh century. The famous hospice of the monks of S. Bernard was founded by S. Bernard of Menthon, who died about A.D. 1081, and has been served by Austin Canons since the end of the twelfth century. The monks' service in the work of life-saving, with the aid of their dogs, has become historical, and by its appeal to popular imagination has done much to remove prejudice against community life. The Bernard mentioned above must not be confused with Bernard of Morlaix, who is known to most people through the translations of his hymns, and who was a French Benedictine of the twelfth century. Still another of the name is S. Bernard of Clairvaux, born A.D. 1090, who, although he cannot be counted as a missionary in the strict sense, must be included in our reference to the next century.

THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

ALTHOUGH not strictly within the sphere of pioneer missions, the Crusades ought to receive the attention of all students of missionary enterprise, for, to quote the words of an unbiassed historian, "the use of force as the chief method of propagating Christianity begins with the Crusades; from this time on, the effort of the Church was too often not to convert the heathen, but to destroy them.

"During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries armed bands of Christians were constantly attacking the Mussulman powers in Palestine, Asia Minor, Egypt, and elsewhere, and this movement is known as the Crusades. Seven chief crusades are usually counted, but the number is arbitrary, and the hostility of the Christian and Mussulman powers in the East was almost continuous.

"... Christian Europe had gone out to the war confident in the support of the God of Battles in the struggle waged in His cause. But the result had been disappointment; short-lived triumphs, lasting defeats, the waste of life and treasure, and the boundaries of Christianity not materially expanded" (Dr. Grant, *op. cit.*).

There is little to add to the above except to point out that the crusading spirit was spread throughout the whole of Europe. Instead of princes and emperors being leaders in establishing Christianity among the heathen tribes in the wilder parts of their own dominions, all eyes turned to Jerusalem. Amongst the Church's leaders, from the Pope downwards, it was the same. The great name of Bernard of Clairvaux is connected with the preaching of the second crusade. His political influence was very great, but apart from this, he is rightly thought of as one of the greatest

Churchmen of mediæval times. He founded the famous monastery of Clairvaux, of which he was the first Abbot. The most powerful man of his day, he was, nevertheless, noted as a mystical writer and teacher, and, above all, for the rigid asceticism of his personal life. One of his pupils was elevated to the Papal Chair as Eugenius II., a fact which is an interesting commentary on the training of the monastic life. S. Bernard died in the year 1153.

While the crusading spirit was dominating Europe, one result was that purely missionary leaders were few in number in this and the following century; on the other hand, the building of the great Cathedrals shows that the Church in Christian lands was making steady, if unobtrusive, progress.

The conspicuous missionary success of the century was amongst the Slavs, when Boleslas, Duke of Poland, conquered Pomerania. S. Otho, bishop of Bamberg, went there in A.D. 1124, and from thence visited other districts where large numbers of people were baptised by immersion. Adalbert, the friend and companion of Otho, became the first bishop of Pomerania in A.D. 1128.

S. Otho's life and work have two lessons for all time. First of all, he was a man of faith and courage who relied more on the power of prayer than on political support to establish the Faith; but, on the other hand, he does not seem to have been able to speak to the Pomeranians in their own language, nor to have made any arrangements for the training of native clergy. This led to the introduction of German priests, thereby making the establishment of a Church which should be representative of the people a task of extreme difficulty.

About A.D. 1150, the Swedes forced the Finns to profess the Christian Faith; we say "profess," because one of the first fruits of such a method of "conversion" was seen in the murder of S. Henry, their first Apostle, who had fixed his see at Upsala. Not until the end of

the following century did they really accept Christianity, when their conversion was effected by Thorkel Knutson, Regent of Sweden; and an episcopal see was founded at Radameki.

The inhabitants of the island of Rugen, in the Baltic, were the last of the great Slavonic family to accept the Faith. These people worshipped a huge wooden idol with four heads which they called "Suantovit"—a corruption, it is said, of "Saint Vitus." It would seem that some three hundred years before, some monks from the monastery of S. Vitus, at Corbie, had attempted to preach Christianity to the islanders, but had been compelled to withdraw before they had produced any lasting impression. The name of the idol was the only trace of this mission. When, in A.D. 1168, the capital of the island was taken by Waldemar, king of Denmark, and "Suantovit" was broken up, the people consented to receive baptism.

In A.D. 1186, Meinhard, an Augustinian friar, preached the Gospel in Livonia, one of the Baltic provinces of Russia, and built a church at Ukskull, near Riga. His ten years' work seems to have borne but little fruit. This led to his successor trying more violent methods and losing his life in battle. Albrecht of Bremen, the next bishop, founded the town of Riga, to which he transferred his bishopric. By him, the people of Esthonia, Courland, and Semgallen were led, more or less by force, to accept Christianity; and it must be admitted that Albert the Bear, Margrave of Brandenburg, and Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, did not hesitate to use violent means in order to propagate the Faith amongst these peoples.

In referring to the instances, during the Middle Ages, where the preaching of the Gospel was backed up by the sword, it must be borne in mind that there was then no enlightened public opinion to protest against such horrors. What was regarded by rulers as a mere matter of expediency, was received by the masses of the people as a matter of course. Those who dissented

from such policy were chiefly a few scholars of the type of Alcuin of York, whose letters, written to Charlemagne and to Arno, bishop of Salzburg, in which he pleaded that force should not be used in order to make Christians, are still extant.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

ALL the nations of Europe had now, at least, formally, embraced Christianity with the single exception of Prussia. When the Gospel of Christ had triumphed over paganism in all other regions, we still find the Prussians clinging obstinately to idolatry. S. Adalbert, bishop of Prague, had, in the tenth century, attempted the conversion of these ferocious tribes, but was murdered by them in A.D. 997. He was a true martyr, for his last words to his companions were: "Be not troubled, my brethren, we know for whose name we suffer. What is more glorious than to give up life for our precious?"

The Benedictine, S. Bruno, who had been sent by Pope Sylvester II., as bishop, worked for less than a year, when, with eighteen of his companions, he was martyred in A.D. 1008.

A Cistercian monk named Christian, a native of Pomerania, was more successful, and has been called the "Apostle of the Prussians." It is noteworthy that when he began his mission, the Pope wrote to the dukes of Poland and Pomerania, urging them not to use the spread of Christianity as an excuse for oppressing the Prussians. But not until their neighbours, in self-defence, offered them the alternative of becoming Christians or suffering extermination, did the Prussians become, outwardly, adherents of the Faith. It was on account of their continuous ravages against their Christian neighbours, that Bishop Christian founded the Order of the "Knights of Prussia," and led a crusade against the intractable pagans.

The value of such a "conversion" is, of course, obvious, and that is why Prussia has long been pagan at heart. The story has an important bearing on later history—even down to our own times—and throws a

great deal of light on Prussia's attitude towards the rest of Germany, and, particularly, on its conduct during the late Great War. The following account, adapted from a living writer, is worth preserving, since it opens up a wide field of study—of especial value in seeking to understand fully the peculiar type of religion professed by Prussia since the Reformation:—

“Prussia was the last stronghold of the ancient heathenism of the north. In the middle of the thirteenth century it was still unconquered by Christianity, and the old worship and the old ideals still reigned supreme centuries after the conversion of all the rest of Germany.

“Just at this period, the great military Order of the Teutonic Knights, finding itself without occupation through the close of the Crusades, determined to attempt the ‘conversion’ of Prussia. They established themselves at Marienburg, near the mouth of the Vistula, and from that stronghold commenced a new crusade of their own, with the object of bringing the country under their rule, and converting the inhabitants to Christianity.

“We can imagine for ourselves what sort of a ‘conversion’ it was, carried out, literally, at the point of the sword. The missionary journeys of the Knights took the form of military campaigns and made their way by means of sanguinary battles. But ostensibly, at least, they were successful. By the end of the fourteenth century, Prussia was nominally a Christian land, ruled over as a sovereign state by the Teutonic Knights, with the High Master as Prince, and divided for purposes of government into a number of commanderies, over each of which presided a ‘Junker,’ or Knight-Commander of the Order. The whole system was military, and the conquered country was ruled as under occupation by a hostile army. This went on through the fifteenth century, while the religious zeal of the Order was becoming less and

less, just in proportion as its political importance was waxing greater.

"In 1525, the High Master was a Hohenzollern of the younger branch, Albert of Brandenburg. He came under the influence of Luther, repudiated his vows, and turned the High Mastership into an hereditary principedom. The Junkers followed this example, broke away from their rule of life which had long been only nominal, took to themselves wives, and became the hereditary nobility of the country. At a later date all the various territories of the Hohenzollerns became united under the Elector of Brandenburg, the head of the House, and eventually, by a series of successful wars, they made themselves Kings of Prussia, and then, Emperors of Germany.

"The history throws much light on some subjects which have puzzled us recently (i.e. during the late War). We can understand, for instance, why the Prussian Junker shows so little sympathy for his men. It is no case of a feudal nobility leading their clans, men of their own blood. The Junker never was of the same blood as his subordinates; he was originally, and has always remained, a military commander set over a population which he despised and ill-treated.

"So, again, we can understand the Prussian attitude toward God. Prussia has never at heart, and beneath a thin veneer on the surface, become a Christian country at all. The moment the veneer is pierced, as it is at times of crisis, we reach the heathenism underneath. In the rest of Europe the agnostic or the free-thinker is really, unknown to himself, soaked in Christianity and Catholic ethics. Fifteen centuries, more or less, of Christian and Catholic ancestry cannot easily be escaped from and governs the thoughts and ideals even among those who think themselves most opposed to the Catholic Church. But in Prussia it is not

so. The veneer of Christianity is thin everywhere, and beneath it is the product of heathenism. A Prussian may be pious indeed, but his piety is very often not really Christian. The name of God is continually on his lips, but his appeal seems to be not to the God of the Incarnation, but to the tribal War God of the Prussian—"Our good German God who has helped us so magnificently"; "Our Great Ally" (cf. many of the ex-Kaiser's speeches). The Teutonic Knights intended to Christianise and to Germanise Prussia, but they failed to do so. Prussia has been too strong for her conquerors and has Prussianised and heathenised a great deal of German thought of the present day."

The rise of the mendicant orders had produced a "Papal Militia," which was exactly what was required, especially for the regions beyond Europe. Preaching the Gospel "to the enemies of Christ" had been part of the original plan of S. Francis of Assisi when he founded his Order in A.D. 1209; and the Dominicans, a little later, had adopted the same ideal.

At the Council of Lyons, in the year 1245, Pope Innocent IV. appealed to these two Orders for a spiritual army to convert the Mongols who were dominating the greater part of Asia. A Franciscan named John of Plan Carpino, or Johannes de Plano Carpini, as he calls himself (cf. Hakluyt's *Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries*), was chosen to lead an embassy to Muscovy, and thence to the Far East. With two companions he penetrated far into Asia, being, on the whole, well received. On his return to Europe in 1247, he was made archbishop of Antivari in Albania. His stay in the Far East had been too short to produce any permanent result, but the account of his journey gives a great deal of interesting information, and contains hints of at least two previous embassies to the Tartars.

Another mission of Dominicans under William de Rubruquis, set out in 1253 and, instigated by the King of France, seems to have gone some distance beyond

the Caspian Sea, but returned with an insulting letter from the Mongol general. Friar William speaks of this expedition in a very self-deprecatory manner: "Howbeit, I hope I have acted like a wise man, and not like a fool."

Neither of these parties had reached Cathay (China) itself, although the existence of Cambulac (Pekin) was known in Europe. It was first visited in A.D. 1260, and again in 1271, by two Venetian merchants, Nicolo and Marco Polo. The elder of the Polos, Nicolo and Matteo, after their first visit, brought back letters to the Pope praying that missionaries might be sent to instruct the people in the liberal arts.

In A.D. 1279, Nicholas III. sent another party, Franciscans, but their way was blocked by the disturbed conditions of some of the districts they had intended to pass through, and nothing was accomplished.

This brings us to John of Montecorvino, who may be regarded as one of the greatest missionaries the Church has ever produced. He was born in the year 1247, and, at the age of forty-two, was sent by Pope Nicholas IV. with letters addressed to Arghoun Kahn, in Persia, and to Kublai Khan, at Cambulac (Pekin), where the Mongol Court was then situated. Friar John travelled through India and took four years to reach Cambulac. When one reads accounts of the hardships that the other John and Friar William endured, and then thinks of John of Montecorvino and his four years of like experiences, one can see that this is the "record" single missionary journey in the history of the Church of Christ.

John stayed at Pekin for twelve years before he was able to send home a letter. Pope Clement V., a little later, sent out other Franciscans, bishops, who were instructed to consecrate John as their archbishop, and in 1308, the rite was fulfilled with great ceremony.

John, on his arrival, had found the Nestorian missionaries strongly established and bitterly opposed to him. He gives information concerning other monks,

who, apparently, were Buddhists. (For some of John's letters, see Canon Robinson, *Hist. of Christian Missions*, pp. 170 ff.)

During this century, missions to the Moslems were attempted, but with little success. This is not surprising at a period when the minds of Christians, generally, were filled with the crusading spirit, which, naturally, did not dispose Mohammedans to listen with sympathy to the religion which they preached. Peter Venerabilis, Abbot of Clugny, however, endeavoured to infuse a more Christian spirit into the work of converting the Mohammedans. He had already translated the Koran, and pleaded for an Arabic version of the Bible. He, moreover, condemned the Crusades and wrote: "I come to win the Moslem, not as people often do, with arms, but with words; not by force, but by reason; not in hatred, but in love." S. Francis of Assisi journeyed to Egypt and made an attempt to preach to the Sultan himself. His effort met with failure, but his example fired many of his Order to do likewise, and in the single year 1261, more than two hundred Franciscans were martyred by Mohammedans; and not long after, a hundred and ninety Dominicans suffered a like fate. There can be no doubt whatever, that the fervent zeal of the mendicant orders constitutes one of the finest records in the history of missions.

If there is any one name which stands out as an inspiration in connection with Moslem Missions, it is the great name of Raymond Lull, who alone deserves the title of "Apostle to the Mohammedans." Born in A.D. 1236, his early manhood was spent amid the gaiety and brilliancy of the court, and his reputation as a poet made him much sought after. Suddenly, the call of God came to him and he responded with entire self-surrender. Part of his distinction lies in the fact that when he determined to devote his life to work amongst the Mohammedans, he realised that for such an enterprise the most careful preparation was necessary. He purchased an Arab slave in order that he might learn

Arabic, devoting seven years to study before he considered himself sufficiently proficient in the language to undertake a preaching expedition. Then he founded a monastery where Franciscans might study Arabic as a preparation for a missionary work. He wrote books to convince the Moslems of the truth of Christianity—a list of over three hundred such books has been preserved, and many of his philosophical works are still in existence. At the age of fifty-six, he went alone on his first missionary journey to Tunis; and from that time until his martyrdom in A.D. 1315, he devoted himself unceasingly to the task of winning Mohammedans to the Faith.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

IF we except Lapland, where paganism was not really extinguished until quite modern times, Lithuania, now the most westerly province of Russia, had remained in undisturbed paganism until this century, and was, therefore, the last country in Europe proper to receive the Gospel. Apart from this single record of missionary extension, Christian Europe as a whole was passing through a time of lamentable inaction. The Crusades having ended in failure, Christian princes began to turn their arms against each other; the "Hundred Years' War" between England and France began, and missionary enterprise, so far as these countries were concerned, came to a standstill.

The century witnessed the distressing spectacle of rival Popes, and the consequent growth of rival factions in the Church. Then, to quote a modern historian, "In the thirteenth century the Papacy was all powerful; in the fourteenth, it was tottering to its fall." Of course the statement is so exaggerated as almost to appear ludicrous in our day, yet to the men of the time, the Great Schism of the West, and the "Babylonian Captivity" of the Pope at Avignon, must have been a cause of grave misgiving; in any case, it is easy to see that the times were not conducive to great missionary activity.

Turning to the East, the outlook is at first hopeful. The Dominicans had been working with great effect among the Mongols of Persia. In A.D. 1304 they induced the Nestorian Patriarch to write a letter of submission to Pope Benedict XI. Fourteen years later, John XXII. consecrated Francis of Perugia to be first archbishop of Sultanyeh, and supplied him with six suffragans. Things looked as if a Christian Mongolia were almost within sight. Alas! these hopes were not

fulfilled. The great chance did not quite come. Kublai Khan, the great Mongolian Emperor who made so much of the Venetian travellers, the Polos, dallied with Christianity, but would not use his influence to spread it. The great Khan treated John of Montecorvino indulgently, but he would not change his own beliefs. John was permitted to translate the New Testament and the Psalter into the Mongolian language and no hindrances were put in his way. What might have happened had John been consecrated and made archbishop during the lifetime of Kublai Khan, may form interesting subject for conjecture; as it was, the great Emperor died, and the unity of the mighty Mongolian Empire was broken.

There is extant a letter of Andrew of Perugia, one of the consecrators of John of Montecorvino, dated January, 1326, and written from the city of Zaitan, which he describes as being on the shores of the ocean three weeks' journey from Cambulac (Pekin). After closely comparing the information given in Marco Polo's travels relating to Zaitan, with the Journal of Friar Odoric, in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, in which he describes Caitan (Zaitan) and Fuco (Foo-Chow), it seems as though Zaitan were, almost certainly, the modern Swatow, although the *Encyclopædia Sinica* argues for its identification with Chuan-Chow, or another place, Chang-chou, both fairly near to Swatow. The reader hardly needs to be reminded that the Chinese place-names often vary considerably from their European versions. A glance at the map will show that this is a strategic point for the south of China.

Beyond Andrew's reference to the cathedral here, with another "convenient and handsome church," and a monastery, we are sadly lacking in reliable information. In the North of China, Archbishop John must have died about the year 1330, and his place was never really filled, though efforts to supply a successor were made. The last authentic fact we know is that in 1362, James of Florence, fifth bishop of Zaitan, was martyred

with many of his followers, and this seems to have brought the Church to an end.

To understand the position clearly, it must be remembered, first, that the Mongols or Tartars were really foreigners; and second, that there is no race in the whole world which has the national spirit so strongly as the Chinese. The acquiescence of the Mongols in the presence of Christianity was succeeded by persecution, not, it would seem, so much of Christianity as such; but rather, either on account of its connection—however slight—with the Mongols, or simply because its agents were foreigners. It is no injustice to the Chinese to say that as thorough-going persecutors they could claim the chief place, certainly during the Middle Ages, and, it may be, in any age.

“In April, 1318, Odoric (second only to Marco Polo in the toil and enterprise of far-extended travel of that age) left Padua and wandered through Eastern lands for twelve consecutive years, returning to Europe unrecognisable from the hardships and exposure of his mission. . . . He is known to have visited India and China, and to have spent, as he himself relates, some considerable time at Peking, where he speaks of ‘one of our Brothers,’ in a way that makes it appear almost certain that he means John de Montecorvino” (A. E. Moule, *The Chinese People*, p. 333).

“A final mission, with the Mongols gone and the Ming dynasty on the throne, was sent by Urban V., consisting of an archbishop for Khanbalig (Peking) in 1370, and a legate with twelve companions, of whom nothing was afterwards heard. And so we pass through a desolate silence of two hundred years” (Moule, *ibid.* p. 335).

In A.D. 1310, Menentillus, a friar who visited India, found Christians and Jews there; the Christians, he says, were often persecuted. Sir John Mandeville, who visited India, speaks of Nestorian monks, recreant Christians, and schismatics, inhabiting houses round about the Tomb of S. Thomas. But *Sir John Mande-*

ville's Travels, a work which ran into twenty-five editions in the fifteenth century, is full of fictions and plagiarisms, though it was more popular than Marco Polo's *Travels*.

The hearts of some good men were stirred by accounts which reached Europe, and missionaries from the Western Church gradually found their way through Persia to the Far East. Of these, the best known is Jordanus, a Dominican, who, with four Franciscans, left Avignon for the East in A.D. 1319. They got as far as the West of India, where they were driven ashore by a storm. Here they disputed with the Mohammedans, and were tortured. The four Franciscans were put to death. Jordanus himself managed to return to Europe with fuller information than had yet been received; and in 1330, was sent back to the East as Bishop of Colombo (Quilon), and carried with him a papal letter of recommendation to the Syrian Christians, and an invitation to them to be reconciled to the Catholic Church. Nothing more was heard of him beyond a few letters which reached Europe. (See Dr. Ogilvie, *Apostles of India*.)

John of Marignola, a Papal nuncio, returning from China, spent two years in India, A.D. 1348—50, but he gave very little account of Christian developments.

The century must not be closed without another reference to the missionary attempts amongst the Mohammedans of North Africa. After the martyrdom of Raymond Lull at Brugia, in A.D. 1315, efforts to convert the Moslems seem to have been almost barren of results. We find, however, in the fourteenth century, bishops of the Dominican Order at Morocco, Tangier, and Brugia.

It is probable that Nestorian missionaries had, at an early period, penetrated into Tibet. In A.D. 1325, Friar Odoric passed through Tibet and resided some time at Lhasa. "It has often been pointed out," says Canon Robinson, "that much of the ritual of the lamas of Tibet, including the use of the cross, the mitre,

censors, the dalmatica, the cope, etc., is so closely similar to that which has long been in use in sections of the Catholic Church, that it is practically certain that these were to be traced to the influence of Franciscan missionaries who were working in China in the fourteenth century" (*op. cit.* pp. 216—217). "The Tibetans themselves have a tradition that a white lama from the far west visited Tibet long ago and instructed the lamas of Tibet in the doctrines of the West. It is, however, more probable that to some of the missionaries referred to above should be ascribed the resemblances which can be traced to-day between the Tibetan and Christian religious systems" (*ibid.* p. 217).

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

THAT political unity is the most necessary factor in the progress of any people was strikingly illustrated during the fifteenth century, particularly in the case of Spain. The tide of Mohammedan invasion which rolled over Europe had received its check, indeed from Charles Martel in the battle of Tours; but the whole of Spain had to be re-won for Christendom. Thus, for six centuries after that event, the struggle against the Mohammedan power forms the central thread of Spanish history, and became the means of uniting the whole country.

Then followed the period of geographical discovery, when "the large majority of the explorers who revealed to the wondering eyes of Europe new worlds in the East and in the West sailed from the Spanish Peninsula under the patronage of the princes of Aragon, Castile, or Portugal. By reason of these discoveries, Spain and Portugal rose to a dazzling height in the eyes of contemporaries. They had hardly ceased to struggle for existence at home when they appeared as the greatest of world-powers. The vast lands of which they claimed possession were believed to give them strength and wealth. It may be questioned whether they did not really contribute to the fall of the country" (Grant, *History of Europe*, p. 427).

Spain and Portugal now come to the front in missionary zeal. While they extended their conquests and acquired territory, they never neglected the opportunities of propagating the Faith of Christ which such territorial expansion continually afforded. The peoples of the Canary Islands and the Azores received Christianity, and under Portuguese auspices, Dominican Friars opened, about A.D. 1491, a promising mission on the Congo. No "daily press" existed to draw

attention to this African mission, and so, the record of its progress was hardly recognised or even known but by the ecclesiastical superiors of the devoted men, who took their lives in their hands when they entered one of the most dangerous regions of the Dark Continent.

Immediately after the discovery of America in A.D. 1492, the religious orders, especially the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Trinitarians, hastened to send labourers into the new fields. It is not generally recognised that the gallant and fervent men whom Spain and Portugal sent forth in search of unknown lands were as desirous of enlarging Christ's Kingdom as of extending the domain of their own sovereigns. On their many voyages they were always accompanied by zealous missionaries whose supreme ambition was the conversion of the peoples they should visit, by bringing to them the light of the Gospel. Pre-eminent among the missionaries in the West Indies is the Spanish priest Las Casas who sailed with Columbus in 1498. Haiti, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, were scenes of his wonderful labours. (See *Life of Las Casas*, by Sir Arthur Helps; and for a summary, Canon Robinson, *op. cit.* pp. 401ff.)

In India, no Christian missionary succeeded Jordanus (A.D. 1330). As in the case of China, the silence was not broken for two hundred years, save that we know of the existence of the Syrian Church of Malabar at this time. "At the gateway of the East," writes Dr. Ogilvie, "still sat the grim disciple of Mohammed; and not until that guard should be removed, or *another gateway found*, would apostles from European Christendom have full scope for their message and their powers. In 1498 the other gateway was found—Vasco da Gama sailed from Portugal round the Cape, and after a voyage of eleven months, dropped anchor at Calicut. That was a momentous day for India, for it saw the beginning of the inrush from the Western world which has gone on steadily increasing" (*Apostles of India*).

Nearly fifteen hundred years lie between the preaching of S. Thomas the Apostle and the arrival of Vasco da Gama, yet through these many centuries, Christian efforts in India had never entirely ceased. What follows belongs to the era of comparatively modern times. To the Portuguese and Spanish Churches, to Franciscans and Jesuits, and notably to S. Francis Xavier and his successors, belongs the glory of having founded these new centres of the Faith.

"When we think of Indian Christianity in its later developments, we shall always have to remember that Portugal set up a standard which Protestant powers have not always equalled. Every fleet that made the annual voyage from Lisbon to the East, carried numbers of Franciscan and Dominican soldiers of the Cross. . . . Wherever a trading fort was established along the Indian coast, there also a church or monastery, or both, quickly appeared. . . . Both King Manuel I. and King John III., whose combined reigns extended over fifty years (A.D. 1495—1557) ardently desired the Christianising of their Eastern territories, and by their royal influence and generous subsidy gave the Church in India unstinted support" (Dr. Ogilvie, *op. cit.* Ch. I.).

Such facts as these ought to teach us a lesson in humility—that we "think not of ourselves more highly than we ought to think," for the cold truth is that British missions in India are not yet a hundred and fifty years old; and however true it may be that their record is a fine one, when we think of the facilities of modern travel, both in the matter of speed and comfort; the regular mails and cable services; the tinned and bottled provisions; the care that the home base has for its servants abroad, and many other advantages which have come to us since the days when S. Francis Xavier and his brethren took thirteen months to go from Portugal to Goa, we cannot but be filled with admiration for the heroic zeal of the old missionaries who overcame all obstacles and laid the foundations

upon which we have been able to build. Too often our knowledge of missionary leaders consists of a few outstanding facts, dates and place-names; we may admire a great leader, but still know little about the conditions under which his work was done. In order to fill in the backgrounds of his pictures and to correct many wrong impressions which are apt to be formed about places and people, a fairly wide range of reading is of incalculable advantage to the student of missionary questions.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

WHILE some European nations were in the midst of the upheavals of the Reformation; while the Church of England was, during some two hundred years, torn by contending factions and persecuted by the Puritan domination, new populations were entering the fold of Christ in North and South America. There is an extraordinary amount of romantic interest in the accounts of the American missions; but a few preliminary remarks seem necessary in order that their special features may be fully understood.

It is probably correct to say that Central and South America are the weakest spots in the geographical knowledge of most of us. Large countries may sometimes be known by name, but it might puzzle many of us to say exactly where they are to be found on the map; while the fact that tropical countries are here is sometimes altogether forgotten. The consequence is, that where the actual geography is, at best, only "shaky," exact missionary knowledge is not to be expected; therefore, it is, that comparatively few people are found who have anything like a correct idea of the missionary work of the sixteenth century in the continent of America.

The name of Christopher Columbus naturally overshadows those of his contemporaries; but amongst them, that of Ponce de Leon demands notice. He accompanied Columbus on his second voyage in A.D. 1493, and was appointed lieutenant to the governor of Hispaniola. A few years later he subjugated Puerto Rico but was superseded in the command of the conquered country. In advancing age, when searching for a third world, and an island supposed to possess a fountain for restoring the power of youth, he dis-

covered Florida—the Land of Flowers—about A.D. 1520, he carried with him instructions from King Ferdinand to summon the natives to embrace the Christian Faith; but on a second expedition to the West coast, he was fatally wounded by the Indians. However, a way was opened, and soon devoted men of the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits, began the work of evangelisation, and in some seventy years the Christian population numbered about 30,000.

Hernan Cortés, A.D. 1485—1547, the conqueror of Mexico, next comes before our notice. His extraordinary life of adventure, discovery, and warfare, was the means of introducing Christianity. Of him, it has been said by his biographer, that “there can be no doubt that he, with every man in his army, felt he was engaged in a holy crusade, and that, independently of personal considerations, he could not serve Heaven better than by planting the Cross on the blood-stained towers of the heathen metropolis,” that is, the City of Mexico, to which Cortés laid siege in A.D. 1521 (cf. Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, bk. vi., ch. iii.).

At Cortés’ invitation, twelve Franciscans arrived in A.D. 1524, and “lost no time in the good work of conversion. They began their preaching through interpreters, until they acquired a competent knowledge of the language themselves. They opened schools and founded colleges in which the native youth were instructed in profane as well as in Christian learning. The ardour of the Indian neophyte emulated that of his teacher. In a few years every vestige of the primitive *teocalis* was effaced from the land.”

As Mexico, politically, is a difficult country to understand, it may not be out of place to quote further. “Since Cortés laid the first stone of the great cathedral of Mexico on the foundations of the shambles which had been the temple of Uitzilopochtli, there has been but one political ideal for the Mexican Indian: the resumption of his ancient independence and the reconquest of the soil of his fathers. Unless this is under-

stood, the whole of Mexican history is misunderstood." (See an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1925, "Mexico," by Lewis Spence.) This is a fact which may help us to understand more clearly the recent action of the Mexican government in regard to the foreign priests.

In 1526, Dominicans arrived; and in 1542 the Franciscan, de Testera, brought two hundred friars of his Order. Later on, Jesuits founded the university of Mexico. In 1547, the see of Mexico was raised to metropolitan rank; and a provincial Council held in 1555, was attended by six suffragan bishops.

From Mexico and the West Indies the Faith was brought into Central and South America and as far North as Los Angeles, where a see was founded in 1518. Tlaxcala, in the same year, Nicaragua, in 1534, and Vera Cruz, in 1556, all became the centres of active dioceses.

In Venezuela, from A.D. 1499 to 1571, many successive attempts at evangelisation were made by Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians who were later joined by Jesuits from Trinidad.

In New Granada, progress was at first slow mainly owing to the lawless state of Spanish soldiers, which caused the natives to have an intense dislike, and even hatred, of anything which seemed associated with Christianity; but later, S. Louis Bertram met with great success, and in 1566, seventeen monasteries of Dominicans ministered to one hundred and seventy Indian congregations. Peter Claver, the "Apostle of the Negroes," laboured at Cartagena, dying in 1654. Santa Marta became an episcopal see in 1577.

The conquest of Peru by Francisco Pizzaro was soon followed by the establishment of the see of Lima, in 1539.

In South America, Bolivia, Chiquisaca, Chili, and Santiago were, between 1551 and 1561, founded as bishoprics.

The evangelisation of Brazil is a history in itself, and naturally so, when we realise that it is the fifth largest country in the world, comprising one-fifteenth of the land on the earth's surface. From its discovery by the Portuguese, Alvarez Cabrai, in A.D. 1500, a constant stream of missionaries poured into the new territory, and some of the most celebrated names are associated with the spread of Christianity—Nobrega, Joseph Anchieta, Ignatius Azeveda, Antonio Vieyra, and Raymond de Santa Cruz.

In 1586 a company of Jesuits were summoned from Brazil to attempt the conversion of Paraguay. Here they were given an entirely free hand. This led to the exclusion of other Europeans, as the government of the country was entrusted to them. In a surprisingly short time they completely changed the natives from brutal savagery into a civilised community. Their methods have frequently been criticised, nevertheless, as Mr. Malden remarks: "It must be admitted that Paraguay is perhaps the only instance in which the European colonisation of America has been to the advantage of the original owners of the soil."

The conditions of the founding of the Church in South America and the present somewhat low type of Christianity found there, have given occasion to a considerable amount of criticism; but we must remember, says the same authority, that "the condition of its most ignorant and superstitious members does not compare unfavourably with that of the residents in the 'back blocks' of Australia, some of whom have lapsed into such complete heathenism that they have never heard the name of Christ, and do not recognise the attitude of prayer when they see it. The fact that the Cross was planted throughout the length and breadth of Central and South America almost as quickly as those regions became known to Europe, is an unique missionary achievement in the history of the Church. The Spaniards and Portuguese set their hands to a great work, and probably few of their contemporaries would

have seen anything to object to in the way in which they carried it through" (R. H. Malden, *op. cit.* p. 113).

Before turning our thoughts once more to the Far East, and the wonderful work of the Jesuit missionaries, a few words ought to be said about the celebrated Society, or Company of Jesus. The founder of the Order was Inigo Lopez de Recalde, better known as Ignatius de Loyola, a young Spanish noble who had been trained to the profession of arms, but who, touched by the Divine grace, renounced the world in order that he might devote his life to the service of Christ. Closely associated with him in the foundation of the Order, were two fellow students of the University of Paris, Francis Xavier, a native of Navarre, and Peter Faber, a Savoyard. In 1543, their rule received the unconditional approval of the Pope, and their wonderful labours began.

Perhaps no religious order has received so much hostile criticism as the Jesuits; but even their most bitter opponents are bound to admit their faith and zeal in the service of their Church and the salvation of souls. At its highest, the spirit which animated its members is best illustrated by this prayer of its founder, Ignatius Loyola:—

"Teach us, Good Lord, to serve Thee as Thou deservest; to give, and not to count the cost; to fight, and not to heed the wounds; to toil, and not to seek for rest; to labour, and not to ask for any reward, save that of knowing that we do Thy Will, O Lord our God."

In the East, the Portuguese established themselves on the West coast of India about the beginning of the century, and a see was founded at Goa in A.D. 1534. S. Francis Xavier arrived in 1542, and preached along the Fishery Coast, and in Cochin, Madura, and Travancore. Since the days of S. Paul, no greater missionary had arisen in the Church. The work which he accomplished, the journeys he made by sea, the fatigue he endured, almost surpass belief. From Travancore, he

visited successively, Malacca and the Moluccas. Then came the great mission to Japan where he laboured for twenty-seven months. In 1552, Xavier set out on his last journey. His ardent desire to enter the impenetrable Chinese Empire was so great that he did not pause to consider what it would cost. "It may appear a bold enterprise," he wrote to the King of Portugal, "to go to a barbarous people and a most powerful king, to reprove their sin and to preach the truth. . . . But that which gives us strength and courage is the confidence that God has put it into our hearts to go. He, too, has filled us with a good hope and a firm assurance, so that, trusting in His mercy, we confide in His power which infinitely exceeds that of the Emperor of China and the potentates of the whole world."

But Xavier's course was run. The Portuguese Governor of Malacca, on diplomatic grounds, forbade the vessel, in which he sailed, to go further. S. Francis took passage in a small trading ship and arrived at the island of Sancian, off Canton, the nearest point to China at which foreign vessels were allowed to touch. Here he was smitten with fever, and on December 2nd, 1552, he died. "Alone in a rude hut his last hours were spent. No loving hands near to tend him; no Christian priest to give him the last consolations of his Church. Portuguese merchants found him as he lay dying, and told later, how, as his last moments drew near, the face of the departing Saint shone with heavenly brightness, and with the words, 'In te, Domine, speravi, non confundar in aeternum,' the Apostle of the Indies passed to his eternal rest" (Dr. Ogilvie, *op. cit.*).

The beauty of Francis Xavier's character cannot be over-estimated. He had given up high worldly position in order to become a preacher of the Cross. Perhaps nothing more perfectly gives us an idea of his intense love of our Lord than his own hymn, so well known to us all :—

"My God, I love Thee, not because
I hope for heaven thereby;
Nor yet because who love Thee not
Are lost eternally.

Not for the sake of gaining aught,
Not seeking a reward;
But as Thyself hast loved me,
O ever-loving Lord.

So would I love Thee, dearest Lord,
And in Thy praise will sing;
Solely because Thou art my God
And my most loving King."

Here we have the spirit of the prayer of Ignatius which we have quoted above. For enthusiasm, zeal, and devotion, S. Francis Xavier will stand as an inspiring example for all time. An estimate of his work, which, of course, must not be judged by modern standards, will be found in Canon Robinson's *History of Christian Missions*.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

ABOUT A.D. 1600, Jesuit priests succeeded in entering China, but little was effected until Father Ricci had made his way to Peking and gained the goodwill of the Emperor. He was a man of scholarly and scientific attainments, but in trying to become "all things to all men" he seems to have, in some degree, compromised his religion; and the missionaries who came after him followed in his steps. When the Dominicans arrived in 1631, fresh from the stricter atmosphere of Rome, they were shocked at the latitude allowed in the Church in China. In 1663, the Christians are said to have numbered 300,000. Before the century was over, however, for the second time, Christianity in China passed through a period of persecution, and again became a forbidden religion.

In India, the fervent evangelistic preaching of S. Francis Xavier was succeeded by leaders of another type. Aleixo de Menezes (1559—1605) was pre-eminently an ecclesiastical statesman and was concerned, among other things, with trying to win over the ancient Syrian Church to the Roman obedience.

Robert de Nobili, A.D. 1606, tried to approach the high caste Hindus by assuming the dress and customs of a Brahmin. He made a great impression, but in making concessions to caste, he was virtually grafting Christianity on Hinduism, and, later, such methods were questioned and disapproved.

In 1673, John de Britto carried on the work, specialising in the rôle of wandering pilgrim. He experienced perhaps the greatest persecution of any Indian missionary, and died a martyr's death in A.D. 1693.

Canada and Acadia (Nova Scotia) were colonised by the French early in this century, and in A.D. 1659, was founded the first bishop's see at Montreal.

The first mission West of Huron was begun in 1660 amongst the Chippewa and Ottawa Indians. Père Marquette, one of the greatest of the Jesuit pioneer missionaries, explored the Mississippi, and also inaugurated the work amongst the Illinois.

In Japan, the work of S. Francis Xavier had been carried on by other Jesuits with such success that the government took alarm at the rapid spread of Christianity and commenced a series of persecutions which continued until A.D. 1650, when only a few professing Christians were left. (For a full account of Christianity in Japan, see Dr. Otis Cary's monumental volumes, *A History of Christianity in Japan.*)

We cannot do better than close this century with a reference to the Russian Church and her unique missions.

The dominance of the Tartars brought the Russian Church and nation very low, but with the victory under Demetrius, in 1380, the second expansion of the Church began. The year 1552 witnessed the downfall of the Mohammedan kingdom of Kazan, and four years later, Astrakhan also became Russian. In 1588, Moscow was raised to the dignity of a patriarchate, and released from its dependence on Constantinople. The annexation of Siberia began in 1580, and soon afterwards an archbishop was appointed to Tobolsk; later, a see was established at Irkutsk, and became the chief centre of Christianity for the north-east of Asia. The Russian Church has worked so well in these regions that Siberia may now be counted a Christian country. It contains some 7,000,000 Christians, as against a little more than half a million heathen. Look at the map, and ponder over those wild wastes of N.E. Asia, and reflect on the hardships Russian missionaries have endured, and then realise that the Russian Church has to her credit one of the finest achievements in the whole history of missions. Let us also ponder some words of wise judgment: "It should be noted that the Russian is the only Church which seems to be able to

make any considerable progress in the conversion of Mohammedans " (R. H. Malden, *op. cit.* p. 163).

* * * * *

Thus we are brought down to the era of modern missions, and the founding of the great English Missionary Societies. For some two hundred years English missionary enterprise had been practically in abeyance owing to the distractions through which the Church in these countries was passing. But we must not think, as we are apt to do, of the Church of Christ as a " National Institution " of our own or of any other land; and, therefore, it is cheering to note, that while our own Branch of it was undergoing many and grievous trials, and through these trials, being purified and fitted for her future task, still the work of preaching the Gospel did not cease, but was carried on with earnestness and zeal by other parts of the Church which were happily enjoying peace within their borders.

" Other men have laboured, and ye have entered into their labours," said our Lord to His Apostles (S. John iv. 38), and the words are full of meaning for us to-day. It is by remembering what earlier missionaries have done in preparing the soil, that we shall best form a true estimate of what is required of us to-day. We cannot be sufficiently thankful for the great heroes of God who were the pioneers of all the missions of modern times. In proportion as we share their spirit, so shall we be enabled to take a really just and comprehensive view of the Catholic Church.

With the remembrance of the past, and its manifold lessons, there is no reason for pessimism as to the future. We are living in an age when missionary work is being done on a larger scale than at any time in the history of the past. Money is being spent at a rate which would have astonished our forefathers. The educational side of missions occupies an increasingly large share of attention; Medical Missions are prac-

tically a modern development; Industrial Missions, which are, in a very true sense, a revival of one aspect of the monastic missions of the Middle Ages, have not yet been attempted on any large scale, but contain promise for the future. It cannot be too strongly emphasised, however, that zeal and enthusiasm are not the only things required in the work of the Mission Field, for, alas! the zeal of various Protestant bodies has spread abroad a dis-united Christianity. We all need to study the records of the Church more and more, and to be assured that our religion rests on the bedrock of history. The idea of a "Catholic" Church must have a greater reality for us, and in our attitude to the great fundamentals of the Bible, the Creeds, the Ministry, and the Sacraments, we must not suffer ourselves to be led away by the over-developments of Papalism on the one hand, or the under-developments of the "Free Churches," on the other.

A tremendous responsibility rests upon the Church of England and her daughter Churches, as the manifestation of a recovered Catholicism in the past; and as, on the basis of her principles, the focal point of unity for the future. Thus, to zeal and enthusiasm, we must add historical knowledge and the full intellectual grasp of those principles; the whole being interpenetrated with earnest prayer and striving for unity; for only so shall we be enabled to do our part, looking with undimmed hope for the realisation in its fulness of the Kingdom of God.

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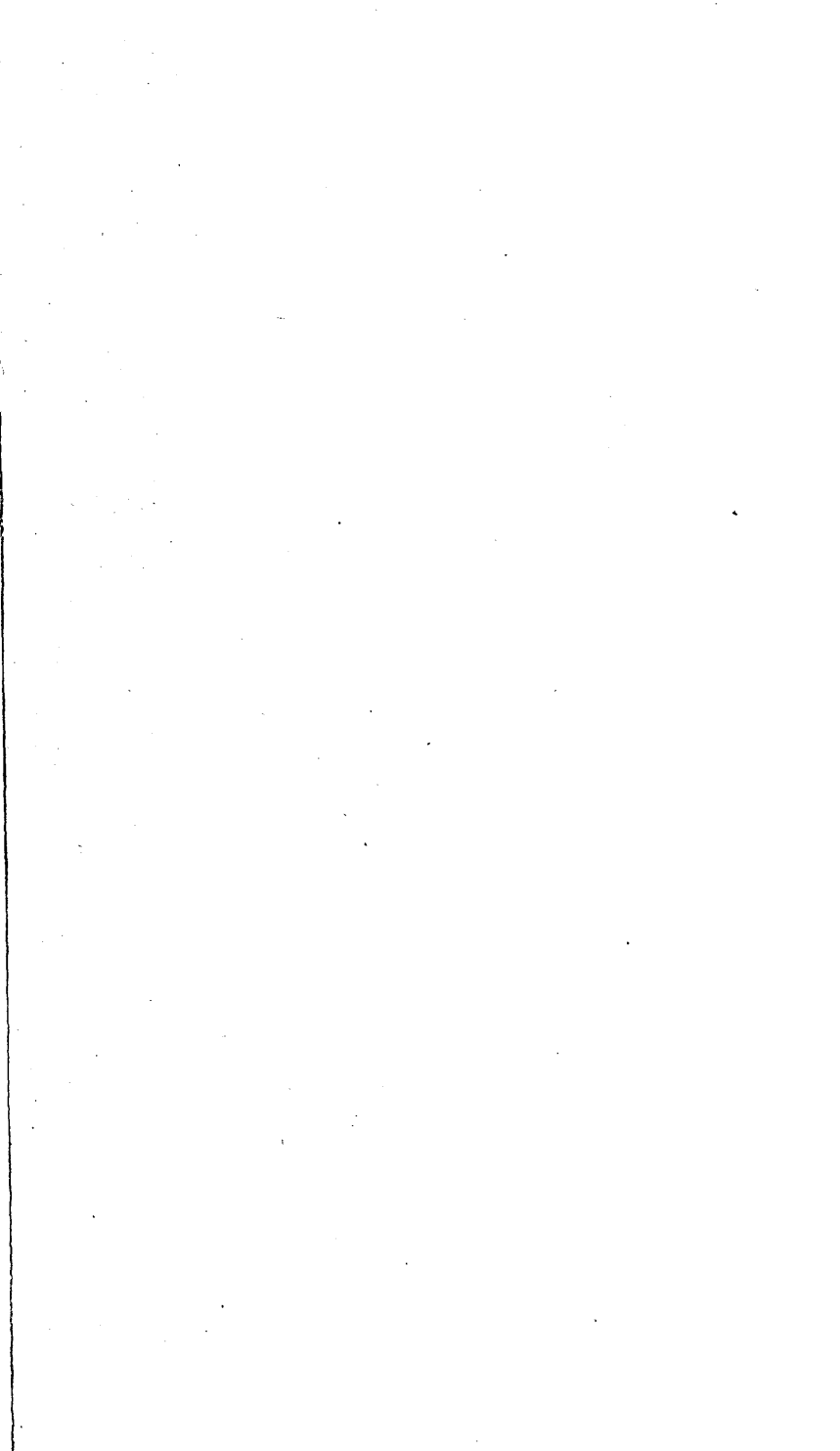
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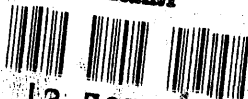
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